THREE LETTERS:

THE FIRST,

From an Officer in His MAJESTIES Army to a Gentleman in *Gloceſterſhire*. Upon occaſion of certain Querees ſcattered about that *Country*.

THE SECOND,

A Letter from a grave Gentleman once a Member of the Houſe of *Commons*, to his friend, (remaining a Member of the ſame Houſe) in *London*, Concerning his reaſon why he left the Houſe, and concerning the late Treaty.

THE THIRD,

A Letter to a Gentleman of *Leiceſterſhire*, Shewing, that all the *Overtures*, which have been made for *Peace* and *Accommodation* have proceeded from His *Majeſty* onely.

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A Letter from an Officer in His MAJESTIES Army, to a Gentleman in *Gloceſterſhire*. Upon occaſion of certaine Quærees ſcattered about that *Country*.

SIR,

I Have received your Letter and your Quærees, which you ſay makes a deep impreſſion in many of whoſe honeſty and publique affections I have a very good eſteem, and that they are made by one who hath a great deſire to receive eaſe and ſatisfaction himſelfe, as being of a nature very undelighted and paſſive in theſe diſtractions. The firſt (how ſtrange ſoever it ſeems to reaſon, I muſt beleeve eſpecially when I find your ſelfe, whom I have often knowne very eaſily to maſter more difficult Contentions, brought to ſome pauſe, as if ſomewhat were ſaid to you, you could not well get from; no doubt many other of leſſe ſubtile underſtandings, and it may be hurt by the neceſſary preſſures, and provoked by unwarrantable Inſolencies of the Kings Souldiers, are, or ſeem to be really puzled. But for the Author of thoſe Quærees, you muſt pardon me if I doe not believe him to be a man of ſo innocent a nature as you would imply; doubtleſſe theſe ſcruples never ſprung from a mind in labour to finde out truth, but are contrived by a Perſon very well able to anſwer his own Objections, and having pretended Conſcience againſt his own underſtanding, hath found theſe little excuſes to make a party amongſt weaker men.

The firſt Scruple ſeemes to be a tenderneſſe of the Act for continuance of this Parliament, which that Gentleman would apprehend to be broken by His *Majeſties* not conſenting to all the Counſels now given Him by both Houſes; If I thought this Objection to be of moment to you, I ſhould give your underſtanding for loſt, and expect your cure onely by that which miſled you, Succeſſe; but I muſt obſerve to you the uningenuity of your honeſt man, who would make the people beleeve that by

His *Majesties* consenting to passe that Act, that Assembly were authorixed to command, and his *Majesty* obliged to obey whatever they prescribed; when that Gentleman well knowes nothing is enacted by that Law, but that this Parliament shall not be dissolved but by Act of Parliament. You well remember in what condition things stood at the passing that Law, two Armies in the bowels of the Kingdome, at 80000 l. the moneth, so much to be raised for the support of them, and a much greater sum to disband them; all this Money was to be borrowed, and upon such security as Money in those happy daies used to be lent, for the new merry security of the publique faith, by a Vote of both Houses, was not then currant enough to be obtruded to the people, the credit of many worthy persons was to be used for the procuring this supply, and it seemed no unseasonable warinesse of those who exposed themselves and their fortunes to this hazard, to desire that the body, at whose instance they undertooke those engagements, might not be dissolved, before it had taken some course to secure such undertakings, and provision should be made for the indempnity of those who had submitted to such burthens. This reason, and this alone prevailed with His *Majesty* to agree that this Parliament should not be dissolved without their consent, who seemed voluntarily to engage themselves for the peace and benefit of the Kingdome. How this continuance of the Parliament should now give both Houses the Prerogative they have assumed, I cannot understand, and themselves have publiquely acknowledged in their Declarations, that they were to blame if they undertooke any thing which they would not undertake, if it were in His *Majesties* power to dissolve them to morrow.

Thinke now with your selfe if the King should argue with both Houses upon their own Grounds, that the Trust being broken, the power may be reassumed immediately into the hands which reposed that trust, might he not justly say, that they had betrayed and forfeited that Trust, by using the meanes which was given them to disburthen the Common-wealth of a debt which was then thought insupportable, onely to plunge it irrecoverably into a greater, and to ruine the Kingdome to preserre halfe a score men. And if the people should follow their Logique, and be tryed onely by the equity of the Law, might they not charge them with the breach of Trust, in changing the whole frame of the government of the Kingdome, and subjecting them to so unlimited an Arbitrary power, that no man can know at the sitting of the Houses, what he shall be

worth

worth at their riſing? Did they intend, when they let theſe men into that Aſſembly, that they ſhould ſhut the doore, and keep thoſe that ſent them for ever from thoſe Counſels? Did the King intend that they ſhould rob, depoſe and murther him? And did the people intend that their fellowes and companions ſhould impriſon, plunder, and deſtroy them? and if the abuſed King, and injured people ſhould now declare this Act to be voyd, and in it ſelfe againſt the fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdom, and ſo this Parliament to be diſſolved, would not your Principles and foundations beare them out? You are one of the oldeſt Parliament men I know, and, however you may have ſince changed your mind, have to me ſeemed the moſt ſcandalized at the indignities offered to the very being of Parliament, by the wildneſſe and fury of this. Did not you paſſionately reprehend the pert Burgeſſe of your own Town, for arguing againſt the Kings negative voyce, becauſe then it may fall out, that the Common-wealth might be ruined for want of a ſupplementall Law, which the perverſeneſſe of one man would not conſent to? Did you not then, after you had ſhewed the impoſſibility and madneſſe of ſuch ſuppoſitions, and that from the beginning of this Monarchy to this day, no inconvenience had hapned of that kind; ſay, that you were perſwaded in your conſcience, that the Lawes of the Kingdome were ſo very compleat, in order to the government of the Kingdome, that if there ſhould never more be made, ſo the old were faithfully obſerved, the Kingdome would be at leaſt without any diminution of its happineſſe. on the other ſide if the Kings Conſent were not neceſſary, you ſaid all thoſe Bils which had heretofore paſſed both Houſes, and for want of the Royall aſſent had been layed by, would now riſe up as ſo many Lawes to as great a confuſion as theſe Ordinances have made? Did you not then ſay, that when *Parliaments* left their modeſty, they would loſe their reputation, and when they walked in any other path then of their knowne Preſidents, and judged by any other rule then the knowne Lawes, they would advance a Tyranny more inſupportable then ever *Rome* or *Greece* endured? your Priviledges, which are freedome of Speech, and freedom from Impriſonment, (except where the Law ſaies you may be impriſoned) where are they? how violated? and by whom, but by your ſelves? How many men, choſen and ſent by their Countries, have you turned out of the Houſe for not concurring with you in opinion? How monſtrous is it that the King may not commit a Member, who attempts to kill Him, without your leave? and you may commit another for but

deſiring

desiring to kisse his hand? And whilest you will not suffer his Majestie, without breach of Priviledge, to commit Traitors and Felons, because they are Members of either House, you are content that Alderman *Pennington*, or any of the City Captains commit those who sit amongst you, and you have not the courage to reprehend them. Doe you think the people of *England* can look long upon sixscore or sevenscore men (for both Houses doe not containe a greater number) as upon the high Court of *Parliament*? when the major part of those too are persons of such desperate fortunes, and contemptible understandings, as off from those Benches were never thought fit for sober and honest Counsels. You may break what Jests you please upon the King and the Cavaliers, and say, that if He were in His own power He would quickly return to His Parliament, but truly the Court here hath so much Charity to beleeve, if both Houses were at liberty to do according to their Consciences this publique fire would be quickly quenched. Beleeve it, no sober man looks upon you under any other Notion, then as men besieged by the desperate common Councell of *London* and their Adherents, who awe and fright you to their wicked and damnable conclusions: Nay, the close Committee it selfe, is a greater breach of the priviledge of Parliament, then the Kings comming to the House, and the taking the five Members from thence could have been. I am as little pleased with the perpetuity of this Parliament, as I have beene with the untimely breaking off others; and let me tell you, all the dissolutions of Parliaments, from the beginning of them to this time, hath not done halfe that mischief, as the continuance of this hath done; and yet since it hath the countenance of a Law, I wish it may never be dissolved but by a Law. What designes these men have even upon Parliaments themselves, is too evident, whereas if the King prevails, Parliaments are again restored to their full lustre; you have read His Protestations solemnly made in the presence of God for the defence of the Priviledges of Parliaments; He is too just and too pious a Prince to break those promises, and to reproach himselfe with his own Declarations; but if he should, enquire whether the Persons about him, even the Officers of his Army, are likely to concur with him in those ends? I am perswaded it would be no more in his power to imploy his Army to the destruction of the Law, then you once thought it was to raise one for his preservation. In a word, as you esteem and reverence reall Parliaments, abhor these men who would use the word *Parliament* onely as a stalking horse to destroy

all

all Acts of Parliament; there cannot be a more irreverent mention of Parliaments, then to call the fanatique actions of a few desperate seditious persons the proceedings of Parliament. A Parliament is the great Councell of the Kingdom, graciously called by his Majesties Writ, confidently to present the grievances of the people, and humbly to offer their advice and Connsels for Reformation; if they come unsent for, irregularly call that a grievance, which the Law allowes, and insolently command, in stead of modestly advising the Royall power, by whose Authority they come together, they doe, as much as in them lyes, dissolve the Parliament by proceeding against the nature of Parliaments.

The next scandall this wise Gentleman takes, is at the protecting Delinquents; does this trouble you too? Call your memory to an account, I think I have heard you say, you have been of eight Parliaments, How many Delinquents have you knowne sent for in seven of them? and what were they? were not most of them, onely such as had presumed to sue or arrest priviledged persons? How many men in your time have you known committed by the house of Commons before this Parliament? doe you thinke it reasonable that they who cannot examine, should have power to judge? you had need take the course you doe to sleight and undervalue all Oathes, that they may not be thought necessary to legall and regular proceedings, and yet why doe you then at all intimate your own incompetency, by some times desiring the Lords to helpe you examine men by Oath? How comes it that you confesse Oathes at some time to be neceffary for finding out the truth, and passe it over as impertinent at other? When you have evidence you think it a popular thing to use it, if you have none, you can judge as well without it. You have a trick to be satisfied in your own Consciences (Consciences that can commit Treason, Felony, Rapes, and Sacriledge in the feare of God) and then all forms and essences of proceedings, which can onely distinguish right from wrong, must be dispensed with. If a Treason were committed, how comes my Lord chiefe Justice to be left out in the inquiry, and no other Minister imployed but your Sergeant? why should not the Common-wealth heare of Treason and Misprision of Treason in *Westminster Hall*, where the Termes are understood, but onely in the house of Commons? If a man should come to the house of Commons Barre, and desire the Sergeant of that house should be sent for a man as Delinquent, who tooke his purse from him upon *Blackheath*, or picked his pocket in *Smithfield*, if the thiefe were not a Member

ber of either houſe (God forbid but they ſhould have the priviledge to judge one another) would you not think the fellow mad, and wiſh him to goe to the next Miniſter of Juſtice? How come you to be ſo ſubtill to be able onely to judge and define Treaſons, about which your Anceſtors have been ſo carefull, to leave it in the view of any man what it is? Tell your ſelfe without bluſhing, who you thinke are meant by Delinquents: Is it not viſible to all the world, that you intend all ſuch who are not, or will not be Traitors to the known Laws, to be Delinquents to both Houſes? and it is a notable breach of Priviledge that his Majeſtie will protect theſe Delinquents from you; look over your own Votes, and ſee if all men who doe not aſſiſt you in your pious worke of murthering the King, and deſtroying the Common-wealth (for you have faithfully requited the lazie Gentlemen who deſired to be lookers on) are not comprehended in the number of Delinquents: What was Sir *John Hotham*, for denying his Majeſtie admittance into his own Towne of *Hull?* a priviledged perſon and an upright patriot: what were they who attended his Majeſty when hee preſumed deſperately and rebelliouſly to offer to goe thither? Delinquents: And yet his Majeſtie will not ſuffer thoſe who kept him out, to judge thoſe who would have gone in with him; wonderfull breach of priviledge and protecting of Delinquents. If we cannot recover Law againe, for Gods ſake let us have ſenſe reſtored to us, and not grow beaſts in our underſtanding, as well as in our libertie; it will make us love mankinde the worſe, to ſee men with ſad browes, as if they beleeved themſelves, ſeriouſly urge things in publique, which in private would make friends quarrell for the ſcorn and indignity offered to reaſon, ſuch is all your diſcourſe of Priviledges and Delinquents.

But you have at laſt found a pretty obligation upon your ſelves to rebell againſt Law and Reaſon, your late *Proteſtation* requires all this at your hands, in the behalfe of the priviledges of Parliament, which by that you are bound to defend, & ſo you reſcue your ſelves from the duty of Allegiance, to which you have regularly and legally ſworne by a voluntary Proteſtation, to doe ſomewhat you doe not underſtand; If there be any thing by that Proteſtation enjoyned to be done, which was unlawfull to be done before the Proteſtation vvas taken, it is no more to be juſtified by that act, then any other unlavvfull thing is by a raſh and vvicked Vovv, entred into by a perſon vvho deſires to doe miſchiefe; If there be nothing in it, but vvhat before vvas the duty of every man, there needs

needs no Argument from the Proteſtation; The truth is, though I like not the uſe hath been made of it to poiſon and miſleid ſimple people, nor the Irregularity (to call it no worſe) of compelling men to take it, when no Law requires it, I know nothing promiſed or undertaken in that Proteſtation which every honeſt man doth not, and alwayes did hold abſolutely to be his duty, no man being obliged by it to doe any thing, but as far as lawfully he may. And would not a ſtander by think a man mad, that ſhould ſwear to defend the Kings perſon, and to maintain the priviledges of Parliament, and immediately draw his ſword upon the King whoſe perſon he knew, in the behalfe of ſomewhat he is told is priviledge of Parliament? we are gotten again into the old circle of folly and madneſſe.

Your laſt Scruple I will be ſerious with you in, it is that (how ever thrown among the people maliciouſly, and indeed againſt the Conſcience of the Contrivers) which I know ſtartles many well meaning, and well wiſhing men, you are afraid of Papiſts, and that if the King prevails, that Religion will have too great a countenance and growth, to the ſcandall of ours; Indeed if this feare were well grounded, you would have ſo many partners with you in your trouble, that you would even be ſatisfied in your companie, and by that thinke your ſelfe ſecure againſt your fears; what makes you doubt this? an Inclination in the King himſelfe? Let his life bee examined, his continued publique acts of Devotion, (examples indeed for a through Reformation) his underſtanding the differences betweene the Church of *Rome* and us, and ſo not utterly diſſenting from them, but knowing why hee doth ſo, and bee will be found above the reach of Envie or Malice, and indeed above your own Fears and Jealouſies: Take a liſt and ſurvey of his Servants and Counſellors, who are ſuſpected to have the leaſt intereſt in his favours and inclinations, you will not finde a man under the leaſt taint that way, and moſt of them (till your diſhoneſt uncharitable diſtinction of Popiſh and Popiſhly affected was throwne among the people) thought eminent advancers of the true Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed. And let me tell you, if there ſhould bee a breach made upon that Religion, theſe men would ſtand in the gap, when halfe your Zelots would ſubmit to an alteration, if it brought any ſatisfaction to their worldly ambition. But you ſay, the Queene is of that Religion, and She hath a great influence and power over his affections, and you thinke it an unkingly thing to be a good Husband, and

 whileſt

whilest your selves are guided and swayed by other mens Wives (for 'tis not Women you are angry with, you allow them whole sharers with you in your mischiefs) you cannot indure He should so much as advise with his own; indeed I cannot blame you to desire to keepe him from any Conversation with one, you have used so ill. But how comes this Melancholy upon you now, Is she more a Catholique now then She was fifteen yeares since? Why did not these feares and jealousies breake out into Rebellion when He was first married, before the Nation knew any thing of her, but her religion? After the experience of so many yeares, after the enriching the Kingdome with so hopefull and numerous an issue, after the obliging all sorts of people with her favours, without disobliging any body that I have heard of, after fifteen yeares liveing here with great expressions of love and affection to the English Nation, without any other activity in religion, then to live well, and wish well to her own, with equall esteeme of those who are not of the same profession, to desire to breake and interrupt that excellent Harmony in affections, is an ingratitude, an impiety worthy the contrivers of these bloudy distempers. Looke into the persons who have received the greatest testimonies and evidence of her favours, you will not finde them to be Popish or popishly affected, but in the list of your owne Religious Men and Godly VVomen. If you will convert her, let your charity and humility, the principles of true Religion, let your Obedience and Loyalty, the effects of true religion, be an Evidence to her that yours is the right; the course you take, will rather fright good people from any then invite them to yours; She is a Lady too well understands her own state, and her owne adventure in the publique distractions, not to endeavour with her soule a reconciliation of them, I would your Ladies were like her. She is as farre from revenge of Injuries and Indignities, as from deserving them. You have the advantage in your provocations, you have met with tempers as apt to forgive, as you are to offend, who are as unlimited in their mercy as their enemies are in their insolencies, make good use of it, set your hearts upon peace, and you will easily find the way to it, be once ingenious, and you will be quickly safe.

But oh the great Army of Papists, if that were disbanded, your feares and jealousies would infinitely abate; that's well; pray observe how these Papists come together; Remember *Nottingham*, when you had a formed Army of 100000 men, and His Majesty not 800 Muskets at His

command

command in all his Dominions; If you have then fallen upon him and destroyed him, as, if Your pride had not been greater then your Loyalty, you had done; you meant to strip him by Votes and Ordinances of all Succours and Assistance, that he should be compelled to put himselfe into your hands for Protection, and so confesse your Army to be raised for his defence. Would not now all Christian Princes have thought His Majesty guilty of his own undoing, who would not suffer himselfe to receive Aid from any of his own Subjects, though they were Papists? You tell me the author of these Queries is learned in the Lawes, pray get him to shew you one Law, whereby the Papists are inhibited to serve their Soveraigne against a Rebellion; because Papists may not come neere the Court without the Kings leave; or weare Armes, may not a Papist ride post to tell the Kings of a designe to murther Him? or being present take away a sword from that man who attempts to kill Him? Sure there is no Law hath prohibited the allegiance of the Papists, and because they will not come to Church, forbid them to be Subjects. If a Fleet arrived from *France* or *Spaine* to invade us, were it not lawfull for a Papist to endeavour to destroy that Fleet? and must he sit still in a Rebellion, and see his Soveraigne, and the Lawes of the Land (in which he hath an equall interest with any other Subject) in an imminent, visible danger to be destroyed, and must not assist either? yet observe now (how much soever you seeme to be scandalized at it) what you your selves have done towards the raising this Army of Papists, and indeed if there be such an Army, whether your selves have not raised it, without breaking your own Jest, and saying, tis raysed by the power of both houses, as yours is by the Kings Authority; you seize upon all the Papists estates, plunder their houses, imprison their persons, without the least Colour of Law, leaving them no place to breath in, but under the shelter of the Kings Army; and thence you would have the King drive them too, for being Papists. You suffer M^r. *Griffith* to raise a Troope of that Religion for your service, and when they cashiere their Captaine, and come in to his Majesty, you would have him disband them because they are Papists. For Gods sake get one of your Orators to make a speech for the King to a papist, who shall say to him; Sir, I have lived modestly and dutifully at my owne house, without assuming to my selfe any licence which the Law gave me not, I have humbly submitted to the penalties imposed on me, and contented my selfe with what the Law hath left me, I am driven from thence by force of Armes, my Estate

taken from me, my liberty endeavoured to be ſo too, I am Your Subject, and You are my King, vouchſafe me the protection You owe me, what anſwer ſhall he make? Sir, you are a Papiſt, and you ſhall not come neere me; or, Sir, I am content you ſhall be under the ſhelter and ſecurity of my Forces, but upon your life uſe no weapon, beare no Armes, help them not though they are in danger to be cut in pieces before your face. Let a ſober man find a way to get out here, to be a King and not protect them. And after all this what a goodly Army of Papiſts hath His Majeſty got together, not to compare with you, for you ſay 'tis no matter what number of Papiſts you have, becauſe there are no feares and Jealouſies of your favouring of popery; I am confident and I have my information from no ill hands, that in all his Majeſties Armies the Papiſts cannot make one good regiment. Get but the honeſt ſober, true proteſtants once of your mind, and my life upon it, you ſhall not ſee the papiſts grow above the reach of the Law.

Here is an end of your Author, a word now to your own letter, I find you much tranſported with the apprehenſion of Gods wonderfull bleſſings upon the proceedings of both houſes, that their progreſſe and ſucceſſe hitherto hath not been leſſe then miraculous; Indeed there are negative Miracles, as well as affirmative, for God to forbeare what according to his Juſtice and goodneſſe, and other attributes, We might expect from him by the way of puniſhment and revenge, is a miracle of his mercy; in this ſenſe, the World which hath ſeen your Treaſon and Rebellion, your acts of injuſtice, cruelty and inhumanity, your lying and blaſphemy, your prophannеſſe & ſacriledge (if you Divines have left you the apprehenſion of ſuch a ſin (and by the way if they have, pray ſend me word what they meane by it) they who have obſerved the ill arts you have uſed to compaſſe things in themſelves lawfull, and the wicked arts you daily uſe to compaſſe things unlawfull, and ſee that ſtones in the Streets have not riſen up againſt you, and fire from Heaven hath not conſumed you, muſt ſay, you have tempted God ſo far, ſo inſolently, that leſſe then a Miracle could not preſerve you. Bate me this one Miracle, and tell me if the hand of God hath not been upon you and purſued you from the firſt houre you entred into Rebellion: are you not fallen from your univerſall intereſt and reputation with the people, to that degree of hatred that they curſe you to your face? Are you not ſhrunk from the honour and reverence due to a *Parliament* to the imputation of a vile crowd of mean, guilty, ſeditious perſons? Doe not your friends every day forſake

you,

you, and thoſe perſons of Quality whom you miſled, with more bitterneſſe fall from you, then your firſt Delinquents? Are not your own Weapons turned upon you, and are you not affraid of thoſe petitioners, whom with ſo much skill and induſtry you taught to petition? Is not your own Army, raiſed and maintained by your ſelves, grown ſo undevoted to you, that ſome Commanders every Daie leave you, and others are committed by you for feare they will doe ſo too? Are you not brought to that ſtrait as to feare a Mutiny for want of paie, and not to dare to paie for feare of a disbanding? Have you not by bloud and rapine, with the curſes of all good men gotten the Treaſure of the Kingdom into your hands, and waſted it ſo; that your wants are as notorious as your Crimes? Laſtly, are you not ſo jealous, ſo divided amongſt your ſelves; that if your Army prevailed to morrow, you were as farre from compaſſing your own ends, as when you began your deſperate undertaking, your principall Commanders being as farre from their ends, who cozened them into this Rebellion, as the prime Cavaliers in the Kings Army, excepting onely their affection to the Kings Perſon.——There is the Miracle on your parts; ſee now what God hath done for His Anointed? Call back your memory to the 10th *Janvarie*, looke upon Him driven furiouſly from *White-Hall*, with his Wife and Children, for feare of His Life, whileſt His owne Servants for their ſecurity durſt not be neere him; looke upon him at *Hampton-Court*, ſcornfully accuſed of levying Warre againſt himſelfe, and the Sheriffes and Conſtables appointed to diſperſe his Army; remember Him at *Windſor* without ordinary, neceſſary ſupport; thinke of the 20th of *January*, when you would not vouchſafe to tell Him what you would have, requiring nothing but His ſubmiſſion to your Counſells: Remember Him at *Yorke* and *Beverley*, after you had poſſeſſed your ſelves of all His Armes, Caſtles, Forts, Townes, and Ships, and ſeized upon all the Armes of the Kingdom, ſtopped his Rents, and incenſed the people in all parts againſt him; Oh thinke upon him at *Nottingham* when you would not vouchſafe to Treat with him, only giving your great Generall power of receiving him to mercy, when you had reduced him to that Condition, that He had neither Armes, Men, or Money, or knew as you thought where to have any, and this at a time when you had a wanton flouriſhing Army of 10000 men within two dayes march of him, to bring him back to *London*; here is an argument for a miracle: obſerve

Him in a moment, as if Regiments fell from the Clouds, haſting his own march to the place where he was expected without ſtaying to be called upon at *Shrewsbury*; view him at *Edge-hill*, with a handfull of men (and if they were more, imagine how he got them) finding out this formidable Army, and diſperſing them, himſelfe taking as much paines to ſave thoſe who came to deſtroy him, as others have done to ſeduce them; Inſtead of being brought up by the Earle of *Eſſex*, as by the Vote of both houſes he ought to have been, ſee him making his owne way, ſcattering thoſe at *Reading*, and ſhewing himſelfe at *Brainceford*, that if indeed he were ſo much deſired at *London*, and might be worthily received there, they might have their wiſh. Beleeve it Sir, his Majeſty hath not ſo great a journey to the Conqueſt of *Spaine*, as he had from *Nottingham* to *Brainceford*. If you cannot ſuddenly finde how this Army was raiſed, enquire how it hath been kept together, a fit of Loyalty and Affection, a little diſlike and indignation to ſee a good King ill uſed, might procure a preſent ſupply; but that this Army raiſed without Money, and armed without Weapons, ſhould live and grow ſix moneths together, that no Souldier ſhould ſtarve for want of Meat, nor murmure for want of Pay, that the King ſhould have a Magazine, and you want Armes, that the King ſhould pay his Souldiers, and you have no money, is ſuch an inſtance of the power and preſence of the Almighty, that if any ſuch Argument were currant with you, your principall Members would no longer have tempted God in this Kingdom, but have ſought him in a ſtrange Land. Improve all theſe inſtances by your own Obſervations, and tell me ſadly on whoſe ſide the Miracles have appeared.

You would know my Opinion what the Burgeſſe of *D.* ſhould do, and you tell me, his honour will not ſuffer him too apparently to recede from thoſe with whom he kept ſo much company. I know not what Counſel to give upon that principle, If his honour and his innocence have not a care of each other, neither can be ſafe; Me thinks the King himſelfe hath given you a rare patterne of modeſty in this point, he did not ſatisfie himſelfe with conſenting to new Lawes, but acknowledged paſſed Errors. Reparation is as Soveraigne a thing as bounty, and except there be this Ingenuity, Reformation can never be perfect, you ſay, he doubts what he hath done formerly, will be more remembered, then what he hath ſince done, or ſhall doe for the future; he is too blame, he hath not a generous nor a Chriſtian mind, who thinks ill ſervices may not be throughly repayred by future duty. I am ſo farre from that opinion.

nion, as though his miſtakes have been of as ill conſequence to the publique as moſt mens, I beleeve he hath ſo good opportunity by ſome eminent ſervice to repaire himſelfe, that he may even lay an obligation of Gratitude upon the King, not onely to forgive, but reward his Affection. There is no ſuch way to have what he now does, not valued, as by juſtifying what he hath done, ſo contrary to this; 'tis no ſcandall to be deceived, leſſe to confeſſe he was ſo. Let him take the ſame paines to oppoſe and ſuppreſſe unreaſonable Perſons, as he doth to perſwade others to conſent to what himſelfe thinks unreaſonable, and the worke is done. As he hath a taske to doe ſomewhat that is Noble, ſo he hath a faire game before him having done it.

I know nothing of yours unanſwered, you muſt give me leave hereafter not to beleeve you, if you ſtumble any more at theſe ſtraws, rather conſider what he is to anſwer to God, the King, his Countrey and Poſterity, that ſits idle without reſiſting the violence and indignity offered to all foure, that is content to ſee this precious game of Religion, Liberty, and Honour, played at other mens Charges, and poſſibly in hazzard of being loſt for want of his Aſſiſtance; Conſider whether you and the reſt who firſt exerciſed the *Militia* in *Glocesterſhire*, and ſo diſcompoſed the government, and firſt taught the People a new obedience, have not to anſwer for all the miſeries, and preſſures which have ſince befallen that poore Country. Let thoſe who have contributed to the raiſing, and maintenance of that rebellious Army; thinke ſadly, whether they are not guilty of all the bloodſhed on either ſide, and in this meditation that vertuous Lord, (who had long ſince been ſtarved but for the Kings meat, and been naked, but for his Clothes,) may finde himſelfe guilty of the murther of his Father; Remember the bleſſed Condition we were in eighteen Moneths ſince, and be proud, if you can, of the State you have now brought us to. Thinke of the firme, ſtable happineſſe our Anceſtors enjoyed, and reſolve there cannot be ſecurity but by the ſame rule. 'Tis not laying downe Armes makes a Peace, but ſuch an Union of affections, that neither party unpleaſantly remembers the way to it. If King or People be enforced to give away that which properly belongs to them, it will produce rather reſt then Peace, and the memory thereof will be ſo grievous to the loſer, that perpetuall Jealouſies, and diſcontents will be between them; Inſiſt upon your Rights, let all doubts which may concerne Religion, Liberty, and Property be cleared, and ſecured; Let Parliaments recover their good old Priviledges, theſe are all our Birthrights,

and

and hath been that which hath made the happineſſe and Freedome of the Engliſh Nation loved and envyed thoughout Chriſtendome; we will not part with a tittle of them, but when they ſhall be in danger will joyne with you in their Defence. But let us reſt here, preſſe not the King to part with what properly belongs to him, 'tis our right to ſee that He enjoyes His, the houre that he growes leſſe a King, we have loſt a part of of our freedome, if the power of ſubjects be once enlarged, weare loſers by it, and affect an Authority will deſtroy us; Doe not thinke the Kings love of peace, can invite Him to part with the benefits of peace; what would the world thinke of him, if after the taking up Armes for the defence of his Owne, he ſhould, upon Condition he might lay them down againe, part with that, for the maintenance of which he tooke them up? would he not juſtifie what hath been done againſt him, if he yeelded that now, which if he had eight moneths ſince, all this Confuſion they will ſay might have been prevented, and will he not leave an excellent encouragement to poſterity, to tread in their fathers ſteps, and to follow the example of their proſperous wickedneſſe? Doe not thinke a Jewell plucked out of the Royall Diadem, can help its brightneſſe, and luſtre in any other place, 'tis a loſſe to the Nation, which cannot be repaired by an acceſſe of power to private hands; If this be reaſon, Let not the folly and madneſſe of other people make you quit it; Warre it ſelfe is not halfe ſo grievous, as the Juriſdiction of theſe men who would have you reſigne your underſtanding to their fury and madneſſe. Let them ſhift for themſelves, and you ſhall quickly ſee what a contemptible people they will prove; Let Religion, Reaſon, Law, Juſtice, and Honour be your guides, the Kingdome will flouriſh, and we ſhall againe be happy in each other.

From my Quarters,
May 24.

A

A Letter from a Gentleman, once a a Member of this Houſe of Commons, to his friend (remaining a Member of the ſame Houſe) in *London*, concerning his Reaſons why he left the Houſe, and concerning the late Treaty.

SIR,

I Am extreamly glad that in this time of generall Diſtraction and Ruine (of which pragmaticalneſſe and want of Charity are both the effect and the cauſe) there is yet ſo much leiſure and kindneſſe left, even in the moſt buſie and moſt ill natured place, to admit a thought of a person no more conſiderable, and to afford a letter to a Malignant and a Cavalier, and that you put me not out either of your memory or your care, when thoſe you live with put me out of the Houſe. And truly, if you could, in deſpight of the infection of your climate, have as well preſerv'd your Logicke as your good Nature, either you might have brought me to your Opinions, or have left me hopes that I might perſwade you into mine; whereas now I ſee no probability of either, your way of arguing being ſo different from your own uſuall rationall way, that you ſeem to me to have burnt your Ariſtotles *Organon*, and to have learnt a new manner of making Syllogiſmes from M. *Gordon* and Serjeant *Wilde*. Sir, I aſſure you, that though you have there inflicted a puniſhment upon me, which in the beginning of the Parliament would have broke my heart, and that for no other cauſe (for ought appeared to you) then for having buſineſſe at *York*, when you had baniſht the King from *London*, yet I am more troubled with the decay of Reputation which both Houſes ſuffer by ſuch unreaſonable and unjuſt Votes, then for mine own concernment in their unreaſonablenes & injuſtice, being ſufficiently comforted againſt my ſhare in them, by the company you have given me, having expel'd whole Sholes (ſometimes twenty in a morning) of Gentlemen, firſt choſen & ſtill eſteemed by their coun-

tries, for continuing in, and demeaning themselves according to the same principles, by which they had obtained that choice and estimation.

1 You know Sir, you and I were both at once committed about the Loanes, and put out of the Commission of the peace for opposing Ship-money, and how sensible VVe after found the Parliament of all mens sufferings in that kind, and for those causes. And did either of us then think to have lived to have seene any so much as discountenanced by both houses of Parliament for refusing a loane, though it were called a Contribution, or opposing an Ordinance as illegall as that Writ, grounded upon a necessity as hard to bee discovered as that which was then pretended? How often have you told me (when you have heard the Courtiers argue that without such a power in the Crowne, no Parliament sitting, the Kingdome might bee unavoidably destroyed) that with, or without that power, we should bee liable to mighty dangers, but the wisdome of the Law had avoided those most that were likely to come oftnest; That now besides, the Question was not what was best to bee Law, but what was Law; That Arguments from Convenience are good considerations in framing of Laws or founding of States, but that the State being framed, it was most ridiculous and dangerous to retire from the Law to a disputable convenience or necessitie, and put our selves backe againe into the same maze of Debates and Questions, which Lawes were framed to bee rules to us to deliver us from; and yet then, Sir, we might have known this present fundamentall (and indeed onely Law now left) of nature and necessity: And *Salus Populi suprema Lex*, was a sentence that was no stranger to us, and these are sure better pretences for one Estate, when the other two are not in being, then for two Estates in the presence and in the despight of the Third.

2 You and I, Sir, were both of that Parliament in which my Lord of *Bristols* dispute with my Lord Duke of *Buckingham*, and our dislike of my Lord Duke got my Lord of *Bristol* all those that dislikt the other, to labour to assist and protect him, and you know how studious most men were in that work, when my Lord of *Bristol* was accused of Treason by the Kings Atturney in the Lords house, and yet the accusation stood received till the end of the Parliament: And could we ever have then believed, that an Accusation in the same manner, by the same Officer, in the same Court, before almost all the very same men (no difference in the case but between *Bristol* and *Kymbalton*) should bee voted a high

breach

breach of Priviledge, ſhould be a reaſon to cenſure the Atturney, and the main and moſt ſufficient pretence for moſt neceſſary and defenſive Arms, at leaſt for a horrid Rebellion under that Title?

3 You and I were both of that Parliament in which my Lord of *Arundell* being committed, you know how both Houſes laboured his diſcharge. You know how tender we were then of our Priviledges, and how much more likely to claime a Priviledge that we had not, then to quit a Priviledge we had, and how many able, honeſt, judicious Lawyers we had of the Houſe, that would not have ſuffered us to have overſeen our Right. And when in that Parliament a Petition framed by both Houſes did admit their priviledge of Parliament not to extend to Caſes either of Treaſon, Felonie, or refuſing to give ſureties for the Peace, could wee ever have thought to ſee it claimed as a priviledge, that no Member be reſtrained without order of the Houſes, though in caſe of Treaſon, to be immediately acted upon the Kings Perſon? And could we ever have thought to have ſeen the people engaged by order of the Houſe of Commons alone, and under pretence of an uncommanded Proteſtation, to have aſſiſted all ſuch as ſhould be ſo reſtrained, in deſpight of this Declaration of both Houſes, and in oppoſition to the known Laws of the Land?

4 You and I, Sir, have been of many other Parliaments, and when wee ſaw ſo many Bills offered, and ſome paſs't, and others laid by, ſometime with our ſorrow, but never with our complaint, when wee all acknowledged, with the old Act of Parliament, that it was of the Kings Regality to grant or deny them, and no one of us ſo much as whiſpered to any friend, that the King had done illegally in doing ſo, or broke the Oath taken at his Coronation, becauſe of the Clauſe, *Quas vulgus Elegerit*, could we ever have thought then then to have ſeen the whole frame of Monarchy deſtroyed, by ſeeing the Kings Negative voice denied him, and he cal'd by conſequence a perjur'd man, for not conſenting to any publike Bill from both Houſes, though it were to depoſe himſelfe?

5 When in thoſe Parliaments wee ſaw ſo little prevalencie in the Puritan partie, that they were never able to paſſe a Bill, even in the Houſe of Commons, for ſuch an eaſe of weake Conſciences in the point of indifferent Ceremonies, as I alwayes wiſh't them, and as the King hath now often profeſt himſelfe ready to joyne in (which profeſſion would ſure have been more readily entertained, if they had not fear'd,

that this would have been ſo full a ſatisfaction to ſo many, that their ſide would have been much weakned by it) could we then ever thinke to have lived to ſee the Common-prayer Booke totally neglected, and publikely affronted, and thoſe neglects and affronts not only connived at, but as publikely countenanced and encouraged by that honourable Aſſembly, and to ſee a Bill paſſed both Houſes, for the totall extirpation of Biſhops root and Branch, and this Bill offered to his Majeſtie among Propoſitions for Peace?

6 In thoſe Parliaments though ſome of us often expreſſed our diſlike of ſome illegall Clauſes, in the Commiſſions given to, and executed by Lords and Deputy-Lievtenants, yet did we ever hear, or look to hear of the leaſt pretence, that the *Militia* of this Kingdom was either not under the Kings command, or under any command but his? And did both Houſes ſo much as ſuſpect themſelves upon any pretence, or in any time, to have any right to order and diſpoſe of it?

7 In thoſe Parliaments though we have often humbly repreſented to his Majeſtie ſome things, wherein we ſuppoſed there was ſome failour in his Miniſters in thoſe particulars which we then all confeſt the Law had ſolely truſted to him, as of Ships not ſet out, or Forts ill guarded, or the like; yet did we ever think it poſſible both Houſes ſhould ever pretend to ſuch a ſuperviſorſhip over that truſt, that whenſoever they would ſay, He did not diſcharge it as He ought, they might legally lay hold on it themſelves, and having ſeized his Ships Forts, Magazines, &c. take up Armes to maintain what they had done, and to keepe this their truſt Paramount in perpetuall execution?

8 In thoſe Parliaments did we ever ſee the ſame things ſeverall times preſt to the Lords Houſe by the Houſe of Commons (after they had been upon mature advice rejected by them) as if they had meant to ſay, Deny it if you dare; and at laſt paſt there with the peoples help, either a thin houſe being watcht for, or ſome of the Lords out of anger, and ſome out of feare abſenting themſelves?

9 In all thoſe Parliaments did we ever ſee any Declarations of both Houſes againſt the King, or of one Houſe againſt the other, printed and publiſht to the people, calling them to their aſſiſtance, and laying before them their deſtruction, if they aſſiſted not?

10 In all thoſe Parliaments, did we ever ſee when any thing had been propoſed to, and rejected by the Houſe of Lords, the Houſe of Commons notwithſtanding proceed in it, and expreſſe their mindes of it to the people,

people, as in point of the Bill for the Proteſtation, or when the houſe of Lords had publiſht an Order for the eſtabliſht Law, as they did now upon the ninth of *September*, did we ever ſee the houſe of Commons oppoſe them and the Law together, and diſgrace the one, and endeavour to ſuppreſſe the other, as they did now a by printed Order to the contrary, of the ſame Date?

11. Did we ever ſee the houſe of Commons in all thoſe Parliaments ſo invade the priviledge of the houſe of Lords, as firſt to queſtion particular Members for words ſpoken in that Houſe (as my Lord *Duke*, and my L. *Digby*) and next to queſtion the whole Houſe, by bringing up and countenancing a mutinous and ſeditious petition, which demanded the names of thoſe Lords, who conſented not with the houſe of Commons in thoſe things which that Houſe (that is the major part of it) had twice denied, and joyning with them in that demand?

12. Did we not ſee petitions brought by armed *Mechanicks* countenanced by the houſe of Commons, the Aſſaults made by them upon their own Members, though complained of, not enquired into, and theſe multitudes termed their friends by the principall Governours, the houſe of Lords refuſed to be joyn'd with in their modeſt deſire, onely of a Declaration againſt the like for the future, the Guard againſt the like placed by vertue of a Writ, iſſued by command of the Lords houſe, diſcharged, the Juſtice of the peace that placed them committed, and the ordinary legall Inquiſition upon riots ſtopt and hindred by an order of the houſe of Commons alone?

Sir, ſome of theſe things having been done in former Parliaments ſo contrary to what is now done, and ſo many thing now done which were never attempted in (and if they had been thought of would have been condemned by) thoſe former *Parliaments*; you muſt pardon me If I think that charge of Apoſtacy) which under other mens names you your ſelfe lay upon me) to be very injurious, and I appeale to any man that ſhall conſider and examine my Action and theſe particulars, whether I left the Houſes till they left the Law, and whether to quit the place and retaine the principles, or to quit the principles, and be onely conſtant to the place, be the greater and the truer Apoſtacy.

The next objection you make is this, That whereas we here pretend to ſtand for Law, yet it is onely for ſuch a Law, of which we Our ſelves will onely be Judges, refuſing to ſtand to the judgement of the ſupreame Judicature of the Kingdom, both houſes of Parliament. And truly Sir,

if

if this objection were made by a ſtranger only made acquainted with the generall Scheme of the Conſtitution of the Kingdome, and neither with the particular Lawes, nor the particular Occurrences, I ſhould not wonder; but from one who hath been a conſtant Member of the Parliament, I wonder to receive it. Firſt, Sir, I appeale to you, whether you doe not believe, that ſuppoſe, (which were hardly poſſible to be ſuppoſed) that both houſes (in the fulleſt and freeſt condition of Parliament that is imaginable) ſhould declare, that by the law of the land, The Kings Crown and the Subjects Property and Liberty were to be diſpoſed of by them, and ſhould take up Armes to make this good for Law, and declare that by Law all the Subjects of the Land were obliged to aſſiſt their Armes thus taken up; Suppoſe this, I ſay; Doe you not beleeve, that their being the Supreame Judicatory could not ſatisfie our conſciences (who have taken the Oathes of Allegiance and Supremacy) in a Judgement as contrary to thoſe Oathes and the known Law, as it is known that by the Law both Houſes have power to judge in any other caſes, or that there are at all two Houſes of *Parliament*? And ſure this is now (as to what is done, though not as to their condition who doe it) either the Caſe, or very neere it. Indeed, ſir, till the Parliament was made perpetuall, ſuch a Caſe was abſolutely unimaginable; for being a diſſoluble Body, kept them from invading the knowne rights either of King or Subject, of neither of which they need now to have the ſame apprehenſion, having ſtrengthned themſelves by a Bill againſt the one, and by an Army againſt the other.

But Sir, I cannot allow you ſo much, The Houſes now are neither full nor free; Really the major part of the Commons, and evidently the major part of the Lords, doe not, cannot, dare not come to you. How much you were wont to miſlike Tumults, appeares to me by your former bitterneſſe againſt them, when they came downe to preſſe even thoſe things, for the paſſing of which you had been very earneſt in the Houſe, and you may remember you apprehended them ſo much, that I had much adoe, during the time they laſted, to perſwade you to venture your ſelfe any neerer to *Weſtminſter*, then your Chamber in *Fleet ſtreet*, and that you anſwered me, when I told you that you needed not feare, for thoſe people tooke you for their Friend, that a Brickbat was an ill diſtinguiſher of Friends, and that you ſaw enough of thoſe Gentlemen out of your Window, as they paſt along the Streets, to make you not deſire to keepe them company without

a Wall betweene you. Sir, if a few within ſhall have power to draw a multitude from without, to awe the reſt, and make them either retire, or judge as they pleaſe, and then judge ſo (as in the point of the *Militia*, *Hull*, and taking up of Armes) as with ſafety of Conſcience no man can reſt in their Judgements, nor with ſafety of Purſe and liberty oppoſe them, and ſhall keep themſelves ſtill by this meanes the major part to judge on as they have begun, and yet ſtill retaine the Authority of the Supreame Judicatory; then really, Sir, it muſt of neceſſity follow, That the Subjects will ſtill be in the power of the ſeditious and factious, and it is not the Men but the Walls that make the two Houſes of *Parliament*. No, Sir, it is you, who refuſe to ſecure the *Parliament* from Tumults where it is, or to remove it thither where it may be ſecure, that refuſe to have it tryed what is Law by the Supreame Judicatory of the Kingdome, all you ſay now is but the ſame, as if the Lord Chiefe Juſtice of the Kings Bench, out of *Parliament* time, ſhould by force drive away his brethren of the ſame Bench, and then Judge there, that none of thoſe other Judges were more then his meere Aſſiſtants in that Court, and then finde fault with them for not ſubmitting to that Judgement as made and delivered by the higheſt Court of Juſtice.

But Sir, foreſeeing this objection of the Tumults would come ſtrongly upon you, you prepare the Ward for that blow, and tell me that though ſome diſorders indeed there were, yet this was but the pretence of our abſence, for the Tumults did precede Our abſenting Our ſelves by many weekes, in which time we came often to the Houſe, and ſecurely oppoſed the ſence thereof. The diſorders, ſir, you ſpeake of, were ſuch, and did ſo awe the Members, that you know ſome diſcourſe, in order to doing of that which this put really in execution, was Voted Treaſon by Our Houſe, but the ſame awing of the *Parliament*, when it is done by the well-affected, and countenanced by the worthy Members, and the good Lords, is, it ſeemes, but diſorder, and no Treaſon. Theſe Tumults firſt cauſed our unfrequent meeting at the Houſe, who differed from their Opinions that had ſuch *Satellites* abroad, and this infrequency gave leave to the reſt to command ſuch things as our Conſciences would not allow us to obey. If We tooke not up Armes in obedience to your Ordinance of the *Militia*; If We would not live and die with my Lord of *Eſſex*, &c. you would puniſh and impriſon us; If We did, the known Law, agreeing with His *Majeſties* Proclamation, told us,

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We were Traytors, and the proteſtation We had taken to defend the Kings juſt rights, told us, We were forſworne; If We joyned together to over-vote you in it (for as long as We came and oppoſed you not, or oppos'd you and carried it not againſt you, or carried only that which was not much materiall, I confeſſe we were ſafe enough) the precedent Tumults had ſufficiently told us, that they would beat out our braines; So what was left for us to doe, but to be gon? And yet VVe could not goe till VVe could goe ſome whither, and therefore were to beare our condition as well as we could, till his Majeſty were in poſture to give us that protection which he ought us by the Law. And this was the true Cauſe both why VVe went, and why no ſooner.

But your next Objection is of all other the moſt unreaſonable, That you have diſcovered by this Treaty, That the King is averſe to peace. And in the Name of God, whereupon is this diſcovery founded? It is well known that in all ſeverall Conditions, the King hath equally preſt for peace, and the rulers of the houſe of Commons have equally oppos'd it; and probably they would have gone further, and us'd their old arts to have ſtopt the conſent to this Treaty by violence too, if they had not lookt upon their appearing ſo to breake it, when ſo many deſir'd it, as too great a burthen of Envy, and known their intereſt to be enough to be able to breake it before it could be concluded, with leſſe diſguſt then at that time, as being eaſier to perſwade the people, that any individuall peace was not good for them, then that no peace at all was, which a totall rejection of al Treaty did clearely imply. And did they not (when the ſenſe of their miſery had given their followers Courage to over-vote them in this) clogge the Treaty as much as poſſibly they could: Firſt, with a reſolution that their Committee ſhould Treat onely with His *Majeſty*, (which He might well, and ſo they hoped He would refuſe) then with ſuch limitation of Articles to two, and of daies to foure, & of inſtructions to hardly any, That they might have ſent down their papers by *Edgerley* the Carrier to His Majeſty, and he might as eaſily have concluded a peace with Him, as with ſo bounded and untruſted a Committee? But in the Treaty what did the King aske or deny that ſhewed ſo little deſire of Peace? If he had askt together with his Ships, Forts, and Caſtles, the lives of thoſe who took them from him (which if he had, he had askt no more then belongs to him by Law, as the proper ſecurity that the like violence ſhould be offered him no more) and if he had required an end of the whole Treaty before he disbanded (which is yet the uſuall

courſe

courſe of Treaties) you might have had ſome Colour for what you object; But now the whole Objection is this, His Majeſties own Ships, Forts, Magazines, &c. Were by violence, and that of Subjects, taken from him, and this unreaſonable, unpeaceable, blood-thirſty Prince deſires to have them againe. An excellent argument of averſion to peace! When the Ceſſation was in Debate, the King demanding the approbation of the Commanders of the Ships, It was replyed, That this Demand was to deſire the ſtrength of one party to the other before the difference were ended; and upon this reaſon the King receded from that Condition, never expecting that they would ſo ſoon have forgotten their own Logicke, and have demanded, that when Differences were ended, this approbation, that is this ſtrength ſhould for three yeares continue in them. And ſure the King is in a miſerable Condition, if neither a Ceſſation nor a Treaty be a fit time or meanes for him to recover his Owne. But ſay you, the Feares and Jealouſies of the people muſt be ſatisfied. Say I, the people muſt be ſatisfied, That there was Cauſe of Feares and Jealouſies. And one Cauſe of their Demand is, That theſe things would appeare to have been taken without reaſon, if they were reſtored without Conditions. But this may be an Argument to them to aske it, I am ſure it can be none to the King to grant; for then by the contray argument the King is neceſſitated to inſiſt, that they be reſtored without Limitations or Conditions, becauſe he can never confeſſe that they were taken from him with any reaſon or Colour.

Sir, though you have great abundance of Feares and Jealouſies, yet you have not hoorded them ſo up, but you have given ſome to the King: certainly if when theſe things were in his Hands, they were wreſted by you from Him, you may doe it with much greater eaſe, if you have more then halfe the Hold (as you confeſſe in the point of the Ships, that the allowing of Approbation of the Commanders gives up the ſtrength.) And nothing can bee more ridiculous then for you to pretend to feare Him when Hee ſhall have thoſe, whom you did not feare when Hee had them. Certainly if you had apprehended this power as you pretend, you would never when hee was veſted in it have offered Him ſuch injuries, and denied Him ſuch Rights, as you never offered or denied to His Predeceſſors, at leaſt you would have thought that power, if not able to puniſh you, yet able to defend it ſelfe, and you would never have attempted ſo hard a work, as to take it from Him. This, Sir, is the truth, and that moſt viſibly;

Theſe powers are ſo far from enabling him to oppreſſe you, That the leaſt Colour of ſuch an intention after a peace would be the ſame as delivering them up to you againe; They were your leavies that made His; It was you that rayſed him an army when you gave him the law of his ſide, and he will not be able to raiſe another, if he have once diſbanded this, till you give him againe the ſame advantage, and you will be able to oppreſſe him if he ſhall give it you. For to feare that he ſhall conquer *England* with three or foure ſmall Garriſons, when thoſe who now aſſiſt him (that is almoſt all the Gentry of *England*) muſt looke upon him as the moſt perjurd man alive, and upon themſelves as diſpenc't with by him from any Obedience or Loyalty to him, is ſo hypocondriacall a fancy, that it is either to be mad, or to reſolve that he is ſo. Nothing elſe can ſo puffe him up with ſome Ships, and a few Forts (which without money to Man and pay them, are but ſo many hulkes, and but bare Walles) as not rather to be enclin'd to comply in any reaſonable thing with the onely legall root and ſpring of Money, the houſe of Commons, that he may live in Glory and Peace, then without Money to hope to begin and conquer in an unjuſt VVar, VVho hath found it ſo difficult to defend himſelfe in ſo viſibly a juſt one. There is yet another reaſonable Feare and jealouſy for the King to apprehend: The Nineteen propoſitions (in which there was preſented to him a perfect Platforme of a totall change of Government, by which the Counſellors were to have beene Kings, and the King to have become ſcarce a Counſellor, and nothing of the preſent ſtate to have remained, but *Eadem Magiſtratuum vocabula*) cannot eaſily get out of the Kings head, or appeare to him not to be ſtill in theirs, who were the framers and Contrivers. And he hath great cauſe to be very wary after ſuch an inſtance of ſome mens ends and deſignes (this Parliament being by Law perpetuall, and a Trienniall one being however to be) not to give any ground to any ſuch power in both houſes as may make this ſubmitting of his known Rights, in the choyce of theſe particulars, to their approbation, a ground to continue theſe, and draw on more of the ſame kind, and to divide at leaſt that dependance with them which the Law (for excellent and neceſſary reaſons) meant only to the Crowne; If Feares and Jealouſies be ſo rewarded, I doubt I ſhall ſee new ones at the three yeares end, that this ſhare in conferring of Places of power and truſt may be rather encreaſed then loſt. And there could not be a greater juſtification and fortification of this Jealouſy, then to ſee a new Booke printed by Order of a Committee of the houſe of Commons

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with a Members (*Iohn White's*) hand to it, whose Title is, *The Soveraigne power of Parliaments and Kingdoms*; asserting the Parliament and kingdoms right and interest in, and power over not only the *Militia*, *Ports*, *Forts*, and *Ammunition* of the Realme, but likewise to make choyce of the Keeper, Treasurer, Privy-Seale, Privy-Councellors, Judges and Sheriffes of the Kingdome, and denying the Kings negative Voyce to such publique Bills as both houses deem necessary and just; And if all this belong to both houses, I wonder what is left to belong to the King, but to give Warrants for Bucks, without consent of Parliament.

But say you, if the King would have named persons to them, he should have seen how moderate you would have been in your Exceptions. Truly, Sir, what you would have been, perhaps neither of us know, but by your refusing to make the Law your Rule, it seemes you intended to give a very arbitrary Approbation. And though you now say (as we alwayes heare much of the moderation intended by you, whensoever a Treaty is either broken or diverted) that you would have excepted against none but impeach't persons; yet I am sure in the Bill for the *Militia*, the King offering you the same persons, whom within a few VVeekes before you had offered Him for the same employments, you yet excepted against foure, my Lord Marques of *Hertford*, my Lord of *Cumberland*, my Lord of *Derby*, and my Lord of *Lincolne*, because in the interim they did not accept of a Command over the *Militia* without the Kings consent, (who could onely legally give it them) and yet since, the last (having so much submitted his Conscience to power, that from being unsatisfied with raising Armes, without the King, He is come to make no scruple of bearing Armes against him) is now againe so fully confided in by you, that respect to the King, and reverence to the Law appeare to be the Qualities you cannot confide in, and the King after such an instance hath great reason to be wary, how he either approves of your confiding, or confides in your approbation. And if they really meant, only to except against impeacht persons, why did they not say so much in the Treaty, to have made the breach of the Treaty, on their side, somewhat more popular? And since to direct their Exceptions they knew who were legally vested in those places, (for the King onely named those whom the Law had named first) VVhy did they not except at such of them as were impeatch't, and give that as a Reason, or make some other (at least colourable) exception against them, which upon debate and mutuall reasoning might have produced either their satisfaction or the Kings, im-

leſſe an agreement were not that effect of their Treaty, which they aimed at moſt. Truly I am very confident the King knew not (and I am the more confident of it, becauſe I am certain, I knew nothing of it my ſelfe) that any perſons now in thoſe Commands had ever been impeach't, and then ſure the King had no Reaſon to take it ſo farre for granted, that any deſerv'd to be excepted at, againſt whom he knew no exceptions himſelfe, as without a preſent Charge to diſpoſſeſſe them of thoſe Commands to which they had a preſent Right. And God forbid, Sir, That a meere Charge not prov'd, nor yet anſwer'd to, ſhould diſpoſſeſſe men of their Rights, eſpecially in a time in which a Charge comes ſo eaſily, that men are voted Traytors for aſſiſting the King againſt a Rebellion againſt him. You inſtance onely in two men *Will. Leg*, and Maſter *Goring*. And for the firſt, I pray, what is he charg'd with? onely for being employed by the King as a meere meſſenger in the delivery of a Petition, which having been printed ever ſince the twelfth of *Auguſt*, I could never yet heare either publiquely or privately any objection made againſt it, and which I am ſure muſt appeare very juſt, humble, and modeſt, even to the moſt paſſionate, if they compare it to the petition of *Hertfordſhire*, or to that of the Thouſands of poore people about *London*, or to diverſe others which received the Countenance of one houſe, and Thankes from both. And ſure if the crime had been ſo great as you would now intimate, you would never for ſo long a time have ſuffered him to have gone whither he pleas'd upon Baile. For the ſecond perſon, I am not enough of his acquaintance to be able to anſwer for him, but certainly you can lay nothing but loyalty to his charge, ſince to the very Minute of his declaring for the King, when armes were raiſed againſt His Majeſty, you confided ſo much in him, as I am credibly informed you meant to have made him Lievtenant Generall of your whole Army, and I am ſure when I left *London*, he was eſteemed by you an excellant Patriot, one who had ſav'd the Kingdome from a greater then the Gunpowder Treaſon, and the very Darling and Favourite of the Common-Wealth.

This is, Sir, the true ſtate of the Caſe, after that the Houſe of Lords (whereof the Major part by above twenty, there being then hardly any Biſhop in Towne uncommitted, and not one Popiſh Lord left in Towne, had twice refuſed to joyne in asking the *Militia*, *Forts*, *Ports*, *&c.* of the King) were forc'd by the threatning Petitioners, and the Countenance given to them by the Houſe of Commons, to joyne with them perforce in their

feares

feares and jealouſies, and in that Demand which was grounded upon them, and after that in an humble purſuance of theſe deſires, theſe things (with the *Magazines* and *Ships* to boot) are forced from His *Majeſty*, (whom, and His Anceſtors the Law had as irrevocably veſted in them, as it hath any man in *England* in his houſe, goods, or land) it is thought an Averſion to Peace in the King, that He will not by now aſſenting condemne himſelfe as guilty of this War, for not having rather at firſt then now aſſented to theſe deſires, which were their ground of it; That he will not by this Aſſent condemne the Lords Houſe for not having ſooner diſcovered the Cauſes of feares and jealouſies, (which occaſioned, and, as they ſay, did neceſſitate the continuance of thoſe deſires) till their eyes were opened by the Threats and Tumults of the People; That he will not juſtifie theſe forcible proceedings againſt himſelfe in taking theſe things from him, by ſubmitting to any Conditions or Limitations whatſoever to recover them againe, but doth pertinaciouſly inſiſt to have His owne reſtored to Him, and thinks to put them off with Juſtice, and with the Law of the Land. For though the *Militia* were not named either in the Propoſition of both houſes, or in the Kings, yet even that too is hooked in their Limitations in ſuch a manner as the people may not ſee it, & not onely they deliver not (what is the Kings) to him, but, as it were demand ſatisfaction from him for having taken it, and not onely (without any regard to the right of the perſons legally veſted, or offering any legall or colourable Exception againſt them) require ſtill that ſuch be named in thoſe places as they may confide in, (though we may take a meaſure by what rule they will confide, by the pecedents I quoted before) and not onely they require this for once at firſt, but if any die within three yeeres they muſt confide againe, and indeed that is a faire time taken to be ſure by that time to have more feares and jealouſies ready made to keepe up the perpetuity, and to extend the power of confiding; But yet farther, theſe Officers and the Admirall and others muſt take an Oath to ſuppreſſe all Forces that ſhall be raiſed, during that time, without the conſent of both Houſes; ſo that by this, His *Majeſty*, even in Caſe this Parliament ſhould end ſooner (if perhaps they have not reſolved it ſhall not, and have prepared this as a reaſon why it ſhould not) and in caſe never ſo great a Rebellion ſhould riſe, or never ſo terrible an invaſion ſhould come in upon us, muſt neither increaſe his Garriſons, nor raiſe other Forces to reſiſt them, unleſſe a Parliament both be, and be willing to afford Him their Conſent, and His *Majeſty* having

having ſworn to protect His Subjects, muſt quit the old legall way of doing it Himſelfe, and (at beſt) be obliged to call upon others to helpe Him not to be foreſworne. Truly, Sir, unleſſe like one that hath been ſo long in the darke, that he takes a Ruſh-candle for the Sunne, you have now ſo long kept unreaſonable Company, that you thinke any thing on this ſide the nineteene Propoſitions to be reaſonable, you would never approve a Demand which doth thus ſlily and by the by deveſt the King of that ſole power over the *Militia* (and that for a yeere longer then your own Bill asked it (which was the firſt and chiefeſt Diſpute between the King and the Commons, (for the Lords had had no jealouſies, if they had had no feares) and which is ſo principall a Prerogative of the Crowne, as without it he will hold the Crowne it ſelfe by no better a Tenure, then *durante beneplacito*. Nor could you expect that he ſhould grant you that (together with ſuch other things) having an Army at *Oxford*, which alone and naked He refuſed at *Hampton-Court* and *Windſor*. What elſe doe you except at the Treaty? Why ſay you, the King pretends to aske nothing but what is Law, why doth He require us to adjourne from *London*? Sir, He never required it. He required a ſecurity from Tumults and violence for Himſelfe and both Houſes, and this ſure is due to him by the Law; the other courſe he onely propoſed, as that which in his Opinion could onely effect it, and truly if the minds of the Rabble of *London* be not much altered ſince I left it, I muſt be much of his mind.

But ſay you; The King was ever offered that? He was indeed, Sir, but but at the ſame time they defended, that there had beene no Tumults, ſo that the King could not receive ſo much of Security from their offer, as the Tumults muſt needs receive of encouragement from their Defence, the ſence of what they ſaid put together being onely this, That they would ſecure Him and us from any thing which they would confeſſe to be a Tumult. But for my part, if I be conſtrained and in danger, it is not enough for me that you vote me free and ſafe; Call them Tumults, or not, as you pleaſe, if there be that which lookes as like Tumults as the laſt did, I ſhall be, though perhaps in more ſafety, yet in no more ſecurity then at *Edgehill*.

But ſay you, what an ungratefull thing were it of the Parliament to deſert that City from which they have received ſo large Aſſiſtance? Truly, Sir, the Country (God forgive it) hath contributed not a little to your aſſiſtance too, & ought to have ſome part of your care, and for the City it ſelfe

(beſides that Allegiance is a duty as well as Gratitude, and a precedent Bond to this) in my opinion even for their ſake you ought to conſent to this advice; Doe you thinke that City will be able to bear that burthen of Envy which muſt fall upon them from all the reſt of the Nation, if they ſee you for this conſideration expoſe them to all the miſeries of War, rather then remove twenty miles from thence, though the King allow you your own choice of a place out of all the whole Kingdome beſides? Nay, do you think, that if the Armies were disbanded, the Peace again begun, and the whole Parliament now met at Saint *Albanes*, that the City would not finde both their charge much diminiſht, and their trade and gettings much increaſed, and a miraculous change of their condition to the better? Nor can any inconvenience come by it, unleſſe you think freedom not onely not eſſentiall to, but not conſiſtent with ſuch meetings, and unleſſe it be your opinion, that no Tumults, no Parliament.

But ſay you ſuppoſe the King in Juſtice might aske and refuſe all he does; Were it not prudent for the King rather to conſent to part with ſome of his Right, then to venture all the reſt? And were it juſtifiable in him to deſtroy his Kingdom and ſo many Innocents, by not ending the War, when now he may? Sir, I am confident ſince you are able to ſay nothing againſt it (or if you are, why do you not?) you would as well have granted, as have ſuppoſed this, if you had not feared Sir *Robert Pyes* fortune, That your letter might have bin read at the cloſe Committee; and till you give me reaſons why you cannot grant it, I muſt aſſume it as if you did. And then truly, I muſt tell you, that this Logicke will in all times render the wiſe and the welnatured a prey to the unreaſonable and the furious, & that as there are ſome outward medicines for the Stone and the Gout, which only ſtupifying and not removing the Cauſe give only a little eaſe for the preſent, but make the fits both more frequent and more fierce; ſo the accepting of ſuch conditions might eaſe us for the preſent of this Rebellion, but (when it were ſeen, that to ſeize and uſurpe all the Kings rights, and peremptorily to reſolve rather to deſtroy the Kingdome then to give them up againe, were the way to perſwade him to relinquiſh a good part of them) it may ſo farre encourage future Rebellions, that wee may doubt they would bee hereafter as Triennjall as Parliaments, till the King by this Logicke and little by little, have given ſo much to appeaſe them, that nothing will be left him either to give or to keep, and out of his care of his people he have made them none of his, and have engaged them beſides into

to

to the miſeries of many Warrs, by paying ſo dearly for the end of this.

But Sir, I pray you turn your Argument on the other ſide. Both Houſes have not Kingdoms of their own to ſee deſtroyed by the Warre, but they have Rights as houſes, and Eſtates as perſons, which being their all, is to be prudentially of the ſame concernment to them; And ſuppoſe the King did ask them to part with ſome of their Rights or Eſtates, were it prudent or juſtifiable in them by the ſame reaſon to venture all their Rights, rather then part with ſome, and to deſtroy their fortunes, the Kingdom and ſo many Innocents by not ending the War when they might? But alas! how much more imprudent and unjuſtifiable is it in them, to venture all and deſtroy the Kingdom, and ſo many Innocents, by continuing this War, rather then to grant to the King what is juſtly and notoriouſly his own, or forbear to inſiſt, that he ſhould grant that to them, which you do not ſo much as pretend in Juſtice to belong to them? And do you thinke whether the people will not be excellently ſatisfied, and whom they will adhere unto in it, when they ſee the cauſe of the continuance of this miſerable Warre, thus ſhortly, truly, and clearly ſtated and laid open? Can you, Sir, pretend any longer to be thought one of the moderate (by any other title then by living among thoſe who are ſomewhat madder then your ſelf) if you can beleeve that the requiring much that is neither reaſonable, nor theirs, argues inclination to Peace in both Houſes, and the Kings asking but ſomewhat that is reaſonable and his own, ſhews an averſion to it in his Majeſtie, & if you continue to blame the King for not granting what you only ſuppoſe it prudence to grant, & continue to joyn with, and aſſiſt thoſe againſt your Allegiance and againſt Him, who inſiſt upon that, which the ſame rule of prudence doth oblige them not to inſiſt upon, and the rule of Juſtice obliged them not to have ask't; Eſpecially ſince, if your Aſſiſtance, and that of ſuch as you are, did not give them their ſtrength, there were then no colour of any Argument left ſo much as from Prudence, to perſwade the King to grant what they now aske him, and Peace it ſelfe is not more deſirable then the conditions of it would be reaſonable, which would then be had from them.

But Feares and Jealouſies keepe you ſtill on that ſide. And to this I can onely anſwer; Firſt, that of the King there is no ground of Fears and Jealouſies: If there be, they muſt bee both of his Will and of his Power, and I can ſee no pretence for either. Here have beene during his Government many and great illegalities ſuffered and committed by his Miniſters. But was hee bred in any of the Innes of Court,

Court, and then is it reasonable to lay the fault of that of his charge, which as he often knew not to be done at all; So he never knew to be illegally done? Did he not ever leave the tryall to the Laws? Did he ever Solicite or threaten any Iudge to say that was Law which was not? Did he ever offer to protect any from this Parliament, that had either offended against Law, or judg'd amisse of Law, though in the cases most to his own advantage? And hath he not given all possible personall satisfaction for other mens faults, both by publick acknowledgements (a thing unusuall for Princes to descend to) of things past, by extraordinary provisions for the future, by the punishmenr of his neerest and most trusted servants in no ordinary way, by quitting many rights pretended to by his Ancestors and many more confest to be legally in him, by frequent and solemn Protestations and execrations (which are much strengthned by the person of the Protestor, known to be neither revengefull, nor guilty of any of those crimes, or liable to any of those temptations, which most usually engage men into breach of so publick a faith) And lastly (which should most work with them who are most wrought upon by that,) Is it not evident that his interest joynes with his Conscience in the requiring this observance from him, & that for him to break what he promises to his whole Kingdom, and in the observance of which the whole Kingdom is concerned, were the way to turn the *Cavaliers* into *Roundheads*, and the same thing as for him to meditate a league between his friends & his enemies against himself? The King, Sir; hath had great experience by what meanes the Court lost their interest in the people, and (by the advantage that hath been since made out of it upon him) of what consequence that interest is, and he is more to be trusted that he wil never hazzard the like losse by the same way, than any new Prince in whose time there had bin no misgovernments and misfortunes. He cannot but know that a Kingdom is like a torch, which having been once on fire, though after put out, wil take fire again much more easily, than another wch was never kindled.

Secondly, I answer, That the King hath reason to have Fears & Iealousies, not only in case he accepted of their propositions, but although his own propositions were granted to him, if his care of his people did not prevaile with him above them. For both the Will and Power of others doth sufficiently appear, by what hath been already attempted and effected both by them and against him. And when his Army is once disbanded with no fuller satisfaction in their pay (and perhaps with much lesse to some of their hopes) then he is able to give them, he will be so much more unlikely to be able to raise another, if a necessity of it should come again; and the zeale of their Army of Separatists is so well known, and in

how ſhort warning upon the leaſt ſigne they would flock together again; And how much they are the more plotting, more united, more induſtrious, and more violent Party of the Houſes and of the Kingdom, and what influence arts, union, induſtry and violence have upon the people to miſlead, carry away or bear down the divided & the indifferent, that is the Major part of the reſt, is ſo well known too, that whether by beginning a new war if they ſee cauſe, or by awing the Parliament again, (for they will be ready to travaile farther than twenty miles in ſo good an errand) or by perpetuall diligence in the houſe, obſerving and complying with the intereſts and affections of the Members to gain them over, or in watching when the Houſe is emptieſt and fitteſt for their turn or by any other Art that can conduce to their ends with the people, firſt to ſeduce, and then to inflame them, they are likely to have no ſmall advantage of his Majeſty, and are moſt unlikely not to improve to the uttermoſt any advantage they ſhall have.

Thirdly, I anſwer, That the Kingdom hath as much cauſe as the King to have fears and jealouſies of the ſame perſons; and that in thoſe points, which are moſt deere and moſt important to them. Doth alteration of the Religion eſtabliſht deſerve a jealouſie? What Printing, Preaching and violence do we daily heard and ſee againſt the Government and Liturgy of this famous Proteſtant Church? Do they not avowedly fight to take it away? What ſwarmes of Lay Tub-preachers, what ſtrange unheard of Innovations daily ariſe amongſt us? Nor are thoſe Innovations only about words or actions in themſelves indifferent, (as calling a Table an Altar, a Miniſter a Prieſt, or receiving the Communion rather at the window, than in the middle of the Chancell, Innovations, which yet you know, Sir, I never approved) nor yet about opinions meerly ſpeculative, (as ſome of thoſe are which have formerly troubled Parliaments) but in ſuch opinions as diſorder all Government and diſſolve civil ſociety in order to ſetting up Jeſus Chriſt in a Throne, in which no Hiſtory can tell us that ever he ſate yet, throughout any one Province, or in any one Pariſh. And all this I will not ſay how unpuniſht, but how countenanc't, and by whom but by thoſe men, who make uſe of your Authority to produce none of your ends? Doth the danger or rather the deſtruction of the property & & liberty of the ſubject deſerve a jealouſy? Is not all they have or as much as is thought fit, taken from them by orders of both Houſes, who have no more right to that power than a Grand-jury? Are not men committed in an arbitrary way, no cauſe expreſt, nor legal cauſe known, by both Houſes, and then in deſpight of all *Habeas Corpuſſes* retain'd? Nay, are not they ordinarily committed by the Houſe of Commons alone, which till of late, never pretended to any right of comitting any body but the Members of their own houſe, or ſuch out of it as had broke ſome priviledge of theirs?

Nay,

Nay, is not the publick liberty given up into the Hands of Committees & ſtrangers delegated by them, & all this done by the power of theſe men?

Doth the alteration of the civil State, and of the very frame and conſtitution of Parl. deſerve a Iealouſy? Have not the Arts, induſtry & violence of thoſe men, and of their party ſo wrought & framed both Houſes, as to prevaile with them to oppoſe and uſurpe all the rights and power of the King? Have not they ſince with great Iuſtice to the Lords Houſe, prevailed with the Houſe of Commons (with the help of the common People, and Common Councell) as wholly to ſwallow up the Lords power, as their Lordſhips former concurrence had enabled them to devoure the Kings? And have they not again ſquees'd that power into a cloſe Cómittee & thence again into a ſub-Committee yet cloſer than that, that is into thēſelves? And by their ſole Orders, & to their ſole ends is not this whole Commonwealth upon the matter wholly governed & diſpoſed? Do they not only juſtify all this to be law in time of war, (though indeed they only offer ſuch reaſōs for it, as will aſwel juſtify any unpaid Souldier in their Army to plunder legally, according to the ſame fundamental Laws of Nature and Neceſſity) but even as to the unjuſtifiable illegall Votes & actions publiſht and committed before the war, do they either make any acknowledgemēt or retractation of, or give any ſatisfaction for what is paſt or offer any ſuch ſecurity againſt the like for the future, as the King, hath done for thoſe things for which the Iealouſies are ſtil pretended to continue againſt him? And therfore if you be jealous ſtill of the King, & they having done all this & in this manner, you are notwithſtanding not jealous that they will continue the ſame things as long as they continue in the ſame power, I cannot but wonder to ſee you ſo jealous on the one ſide, and ſo ſecure on the other, unleſſe perhaps what I imply they will do be a thing ſo evident to you, that you count it the object rather of foreſight, than of Iealouſie.

Fourthly I anſwer, That ſuppoſing you had no grounds to be jealous of them, and had grounds to be jealous of his Majeſty, yet this were no ſufficient excuſe for the countenance you give by your preſence, and for the aſſiſtance you give by your purſe, to thoſe armes which upon no ſtronger a ground are raiſed againſt him; for it is not juſtifiable in you to violate your duty, for fear leſt another may not diſcharge his. Conſider this as ſeriouſly as the matter deſerves, and you will be of my opinion, that when that ſin ſhall be laid to your charge at the day of Iudgement, it will be then found that a future, poſſible tyrant wil not excuſe a preſent certain rebell.

But, Sir, I wil count all this caſt away upon you. I wil be confident that ſince in order to Peace, and immediat disbanding of the Armies, the King deſires nothing but what is law, & denies nothing that is ſo, ſince he askes

not all that by Law he might aske, but only that so much as was by violence taken from him, before the war, may be now quietly restored to him, and submits all the other injuries he hath received, and all those Delinquents he hath been so charged to protect, to be considered and tryed in a full, peaceable and secure convention in Parl. since after this offer nothing can be so impudent, as to pretend your Armes to be any longer necessary and defensive; since you can say nothing to perswade the King to yeeld to what they aske, but only that unles he will yeeld to what you will not say is reasonable, they are unreasonable enough to choose to destroy the Kingdom by continuing the war; I wil be confident, that suppose this unreasonablenes seem a reason for the King to take their conditions, it can appeare none to you to take their parts, & you will never continue with those men of whom you have those thoughts. No, Sir, you are too much a lover of unity and government, too good natured, too much a Gentleman to be a Roundhead, that is, to fight to introduce nothing but Brownisme, Independence, Insolence, Hard heartednes and Parity, and to put the kingdom into such hands, as before this businesse began, were known to few men in it. I know you were ingaged into this insensibly and by degrees, and (though you had then both a worse opinion of the court, and a better of the House of Commons, then their different demeanors since hath by this time perswaded you to have) yet if you had ever guest it would have come to this, you would as soon have medled with a Serpent, as with the *Militia*, and would have left them as soon as I did. I know nothing but the unjustifiable shame of confessing a past error to avoid a perpetual one, hath since kept you with them, and therfore doubt not but you will now submit to that shame (as a punishment due for the fault of having been ashamed to do your duty so long, and as a trouble that will bear no Proportion to the delight of having at last satisfied your conscience) & leave those, who in my conscience love those among you who stay with them, and are not of them, worse than they do any evill Counsellor in *Oxford*, and who, when you have sufficiently establisht their power for them, wil sufficiently shew it. And in confidence (upon these reasons) that you will bring me a sudden answer to this Letrer your selfe, I remaine

SIR,

Oxford, Oriel *Colledge*
the 4 *of* May, 1643.

Your much pleased and very humble servant.

MAY 24. 1643.

A Letter to a Gentleman of Leiceſter-ſhire, ſhewing out of the publike writings which have paſſed betwixt His Majeſty, and his two Houſes of Parliament, That, all the overtures which have been made for Peace, and Accomodation, proceeded from His Majeſty onely: and that the unſucceſſefulneſſe of the late Treaty, is not to be imputed to His Majeſty, but to his two Houſes of *PARLIAMENT.*

ACcording to your importunate deſires of being made acquainted with the paſſages and ſucceſſe of the late *Treaty*, betwixt his Majeſty and his two Houſes of Parliament, I did from time to time advertiſe you, as farre as I was able, to diſcover the proceedings of it; both what was done, and what was like to be the iſſue. And becauſe I found ſome ſtrong impreſſions in you, that if the *Treaty* came not to a fortunate end, and that ſome *manifeſt* were not publiſhed in his Majeſties name, to ſatisfie the ſubject in the carriage of it, the blame thereof was likely to be caſt upon his Majeſty, as if he had no thoughts nor intents of peace: I ſent you *the collection of all the particular papers that paſſed between his Majeſty, and the Committee here at Oxford*, as ſoon as it came off the Preſſe; wherein my care to give you ſatisfaction was ſo great and urgent, that I would not ſtay the commming of the common Foot-poſt. But contrary to my expectation you write back, that you are

not ſatisfied with the ſight thereof; that you poore Countrey Gentlemen (as you pleaſe to ſay) are not ſo nimble witted as to diſcover the reſult of thoſe debates, or the concluſions iſſuing from thoſe premiſes, except it be more plainly laid downe before you; and that the common ſort of people will be little edified with this bare collection, unleſſe ſome application of the poynt be brought home unto them. In which reſpects you have expreſſed a vehement deſire to ſee ſomewhat publiſhed, agreeable to the capacities of the good people in the Countries, who may be otherwiſe prepoſſeſſed with ſome falſe opinions of the averſeneſſe of the Court from all peaceable counſells, and by the ſubtile practices of malitious men, may bee ſeduced to a beliefe, that his Majeſty onely is in fault, why the ſame treaty came to no better end. And this you ſay, the ordinary ſort of people may be brought to give credence to, as having a long time beene perſwaded by the Emiſſaries of the adverſe faction, that all the overtures which have been made for a pacification, proceeded originally from the Parliament; that they have often preſſed to obtain this Treaty, before His Majeſty could be induced to give eare unto it; and therefore that in probability His Majeſty being found ſo difficult from time to time in giving way unto the Treaty, the unſucceſſefulneſſe thereof will bee charged on him. The undeceiving of the people in theſe particulars you ſay would be good ſervice to His Majeſty, and I think ſo too; and therefore could have wiſhed, and doe wiſh ſo ſtill, you had exacted an accompt thereof from a better hand. But being you are pleaſed to impoſe this taske upon me, and that you will not otherwiſe be ſatisfied than by my conformity to your commands: I ſhall herein apply my ſelfe unto your deſires, as having beene trained up by you from my youth in the ſchoole of Obedience, and taught betimes, that for a man to dedicate and devote himſelfe to his owne humours and reſervedneſſe, was but the ſacrifice of *fooles*. In the performance of which undertaking, I ſhall ſay little of mine owne, but onely lay together ſuch materiall paſsages, as I have noted in the ſeverall writings which have paſsed betwixt His *MAJESTY* and his two Houſes of *PARLIAMENT*, keeping my ſelfe (as neare as poſſible I can) to the very Language and Expreſſions of thoſe writings; that my Diſcourſe may gaine more credit and authority both with you and others.

2. And firſt, whereas you ſay the Emiſsaries, or Meſsengers of the adverſe faction doe perſwade the people, that all the Overtures which have been made for a Pacification, proceeded originally from the Parliament;

liament; though nothing be more true than that the Subjects of this Kingdome have been ſo perſwaded, yet nothing is more impudently falſe, than that which thoſe malicious inſtruments of the publike ruine do perſwade them to. For after the firſt open breach was made betwixt His Majeſty and his two Houſes of Parliament, upon occaſion of his Majeſties comming to the houſe of Commons on the fourth of Ianuary 1641. how ſtudious was his Majeſty to make it up? how many playſters did he apply to ſalve that ſore? how many Meſſages did he ſend to take off the offence which was raiſed about it? not onely waving his proceedings in that way, out of a deſire of giving ſatisfaction to all men in all matters that might ſeem to have relation unto the Priviledges of Parliament (*a*): and ſignifying that in his proceedings againſt the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members, he had never the leaſt intention of violating the leaſt priviledge of Parliament, and that in caſe any doubt of breach of Priviledges did remaine, hee would be willing to cleare that, and aſſert thoſe by any reaſonable way that his Parliament ſhould adviſe him to (*b*). But offering wholly to deſert any proſecution of the accuſed Members of either Houſe, and to grant as free and generall a Pardon, for the full contentment of all his loving ſubjects, as by the approbation of both houſes of Parliament, ſhould be thought convenient, for the better compoſing and ſetling of all feares and jealouſies of what ſort ſoever (*c*). Nay, he deſcended at the laſt to acknowledge (upon the information ſince given him) an apparent breach of Priviledge, and to profeſſe withall, His readines to repaire the ſame for the future, by any Act that ſhould be deſired of his Majeſty (*d*): Declaring plainly and ingeniouſly the reaſons which induced him to goe in perſon at that time to the Houſe of Commons (*e*): Inſomuch, That if the breach of Priviledge had beene greater than had ever before been offered to both or either of the Houſes; His Majeſties acknowledgement and retractation hath been greater alſo, (as his Majeſty very well obſerveth) than ever King gave to his ſubjects (*f*). Yet all this condeſcenſion of his Majeſty in the acknowledging of his miſtake, (though in a matter of form only) and offering to repair the ſame in ſuch a way as the houſe ſhould preſcribe unto him, was ſo farre from ſatisfying, that his proceeding in that buſines, hath beene and is ſtill charged upon him for ſo great a crime, as if he had thereby forfeited all duty, credit and allegiarce, which was due to him from his people (*g*).

a His Ma Meſſage, 1641.

b His Ma Meſſage, 1641.

c His Ma Anſwers, F 1641.

d His Ma Anſwer, F 1641.

e Ibid. a Majeſties to a book May 19.1

f His M Declarati March 9.

g His M Anſw. to &c. May

3. More than this yet: His Majeſty perceiving that this infortunate

tunate breach produced many other dangerous inconveniences, beſides debates and diſputations, concerning priviledges; and that whilſt ſo much time was taken up in thoſe debates and diſputations, many diſtractions did ariſe, which could not but occaſion a generall miſchief to the whole government of this his Realme, reſolved, as one *moſt chiefely intereſſed, ſo by many reaſons moſt obliged, to doe what in him lay for preventing of it.* (*h*) And, *though he might juſtly have expected* (*as moſt proper for the duty of ſubjects*) *that* propoſitions *for the remedy of thoſe* evills *ought rather to come to him, than from him*; yet ſuch was his fatherly care of all his people, that he choſe rather to lay by particular reſpects of his own dignity, *than that any time ſhould bee loſt* in a matter of ſo great importance. (*i*) In which reſpect his Maieſty thought fit to propound unto them, "that they would fall with all ſpeed into a ſerious conſideration of all thoſe particulars which they ſhould hold neceſſary, as well "for the upholding and maintaining of his Maieſties juſt and legall authority, and for the ſetling of his revenue, as for the preſent and future eſtabliſhing of their priviledges, the free and quiet enjoying of "their eſtates and fortunes, the liberty of their perſons, the ſecurity of "the true Religion, now profeſſed in the Church of *England*, and the "ſetling of Ceremonies in ſuch a manner as may take away all juſt offence: Wherein his Majeſty profeſſed his readineſſe to equall and exceed the greateſt examples of the moſt indulgent Princes in their Acts "of grace and favour unto the people (*k*). Nor was this for a fit or a moment onely; but conſtantly purſued and preſſed in ſeverall Meſſages, Anſwers, Declarations, as the moſt certaine meanes of ſetling the diſtractions of this wretched kingdome, as *viz.* in his Majeſties Anſwer to the two Houſes concerning the *Militia*, Febr. 28. 1641. His Majeſties ſpeech to the Committee, March, 9. 1641. His Majeſties Meſſages to both Houſes ſent from *Huntingdon*, March 15. 1641. His Majeſties Anſwer to the Petition of both Houſes, March 26. 1642. His Anſwer to the inhabitants of *York-ſhire*, April 7. 1642. and in His Anſwer to the Declaration of both Houſes *May* 4. 1642. not to deſcend to more particulars. And to ſay truth, we need not look on more particulars for this poynt & purpoſe, his Majeſty preſſing it ſo often (though ſtil in vain) that at the laſt it was declared by both houſes (though at firſt they did return moſt humble thanks unto his Majeſty for that gracious Meſſage;) (*l*) That as often as the Meſsage the 20. of Ian. had been preſsed upon them, ſo often had their priviledges been cleerly infringed, in that a way and method of proceeding was preſcribed unto them (*m*). Which ſaid, it

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was high time assuredly for his sacred Majesty to desist from pressing those faire Overtures for Accomodation, which he before had made unto them, for feare lest out of a desire of giving satisfaction for one breach of Priviledges, he might unknowingly infringe so many of them, and that in so unpardonable a degree, as could admit no satisfaction, how much soever he did desire to give it. You see then that the Overtures for a Pacification came not originally from the Parliament; nay you see the contrary. Those overtures proceeded from his Majesty, and from him alone; and were no oftner made to the two houses of Parliament, than rejected by them.

4. The second thing suggested to the poore ignorant people is, That when his Majesty was in armes, his Houses often prest for a Treaty before they could obtaine it. When indeed (without mentioning how they leavied forces first, and so made his Majesty onely defensive) either their strength was so great, or their indisposition to peace so prevalent with them, that when his Majesty first offered a Treaty, it produced him onely such an answer as might expose him to scorne and pity: witnesse his Majesties gracious Message sent from Nottingham (where first his standard was advanced) Aug. 25. 1642. in which his Maiesty desired, That some fit persons might be by them inabled to treat with the like number authorized by him, in such a manner, and with such freedom of debate, as might best tend to the peace of the Kingdome, together with his promise, to remove all possible scruples which might hinder the Treaty so much desired by his Majesty, in taking down his Standard, and calling in such Proclamations and Declarations as were excepted against by the sayd two Houses, on the same day which they should nominate and appoynt for the revoking of their Declarations, in which his Maiesties faithfull servants were declared Traytors for adhering to him (*n*) And though his Maiesty expressed in his said Message, as by the sequell is since manifested, that nothing but his Christian and pious care to prevent the effusion of bloud had begot that motion, his provision of men, Arms and money, being such as might secure him from their violence, till it pleased God to open the eyes of his people (*o*) Yet so averse were they from consenting to it, so inconsiderable did they think his Maiesty, and themselves so formidable, that no treaty was to be obtained, unlesse he would denude himself of all force raised to defend his person from a visible strength marching against him in the field, admit those persons to be traytorous to him, who had appeared in his defence (*p*), and put himself wholly into their power who by their former practices had declared sufficiently their good affecti-

n His M... Reply to ... answer o... two hous... 2. 1642.

o His M... Message, ... 1642.

p His M... message, S... 11, 1642.

affections to, and intentions towards him; his Majesties comming back unto his Parliament without his forces, and his presence there in that his great Councell, being avowed to be the only means of any treaty betwixt his Majesty and them, with hope of successe (q) Never did Prince descend so low, as to desire and presse a treaty with his owne subjects; never did Subjects so reject the pious motions, and Christian condescentions of a gracious Prince.

to
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Sept. 16

5 At last, about the end of September, when his Majesty was at Shrewsbury, and the Earle of Essex, the Generall of the forces leavied against his Majesty at Worcester, a Counsellor of his Majesty was advertised by letter from the sayd Earle, there was a Message to be delivered his Majesty from his Parliament; which his Maiesty, by him answered, was ready to heare, so it were brought by any person that he had not delared a traitor; his Majesty having then declared few or none but the Earl of Essex, and such as were in armes under his command against him. But after this Answer, (surely sufficiently gracious) so litle true affectiō had they to peace, that that Message was stifled, and until his Maiesty had given their supposed invincible Army that great defeat at Edge-hill, and taken Banbury, which they went to relieve, and advanced with his Army towards *London* as farre as *Reading*, he never understood His two houses intended to send to him. There he understood his Castle of *Windsor* where hee meant to lodge, his owne Palace was manned against him: yet neither his owne good and prosperous successes, nor the iniuries done unto him, made him refuse the intended Message from his two Houses of Parliament. But he gave his safe conduct for their Committee, who met him at *Colebroke*, and presented him a Petition.

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5 That a *Committee from both Houses might attend his Majesty with some Propositions for the removall of those bloudy distempers, and distractions, and setling the peace of the Kingdom* (r) What answer made his Maiesty unto this proposall? did he require them to lay downe their Armes, rayled for destruction of his Person, or to recall their Declarations and Remonstrances so full of bitternes against his government? or to repeale their many Ordinances so evidently destructive of the Subiects Liberties? or to adiourne the Parliament, to some such place which hee should chuse for his abode and habitation? None of all these, nor any thing which looked that way, was required of them: his Maiesty condescending unto their desires without limitations or conditions, as by his Maiesties Answer unto that petition doth at ful appear. His Maiesty had promised at a time, when all his offers and desires were reiected by them, that whensoever

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they desired a Treatie of him, his Maiesty piously *remembring bloud was to be spilt in this unnaturall quarrel, would very cheerfully imbrace it*( ]): And he resolved, that no felicity, no change of fortune, should make him differ from himselfe, or change his purposes. And though that Proposition for a Treaty came to no effect, and probably was never really intended by them, as to moderate men might appeare by the Earle of *Essex* his marching from *London* with many Ordnance towards his Maiesty, the same day the Committe of the Houses were attending him, whereby his Maiesty was to have him before him with the body of their Forces, others at *Acton* on the one hand, and others at *Kingston* on the other hand; and as if this were not enough that they were before him, and of each side, his owne Palace, Windsor Castle, was kept in the back of him by Captaine *Ven* of *Lond:* and thus if His Maiesty had not advanced to Brainceford, whereby he got Hounsloe heath, a place to fight on, he had beene pinned in at Colebrook, in a close Countrey where he could have made no use of his horse, and so might probably come to have treated concerning his owne liberty or retreat, and not the peace of his subiects; for which he hath all this while, as well as for his owne right fought; so then in all the progresse of this busines, from the first taking up of Arms, until the setling of the Armies in their winter Quarter, the offers of a Treaty have bin alwayes on his Maiesties side, and the refusalls on the Parl. save that sent unto him at Colebrook. And when that treaty was renewed, it was not done by them, nor on their desire, but meerly on the motion of his sacred Maiesty, after he had long time, and in vaine expected, they would apply themselves nnto him for an *enterparlance:* nor broken off, when it was set on foot again, either by the unreasonablenesse of his Maiesties demands, or his unwillingnes to yield unto them in such poynts as could be reasonably desired for the good of his Subiects, but only by the practise & perversnes of some guilty persons of that side, who have no hope to scape the hand of publike *justice*, but by involving the whole *kingdom in a generall ruine*. Which poynt if it be proved (as I doubt not of it) I hope the the people wil permit themselves to be disabused, & not impute the blame of these *distempers to his sacred M.* who hath so graciously vouchsafed to try all faire means which might conduce to the cure of a troubled state.

(His Messa 1642.

6 For proofe of this, I would have you first cast your eye on that space of time, which was between his Maiesties retreat from *Brainceford*, and the comming of their first Committe to the Court at Oxford, being from the 13. of November, to the first of Februar. no lesse than eleven weeks, and somewhat upwards. In all which time they could not spare themselves so much leisure, as to send a single Message to his Maiesty by

any one of their owne Members, but entertained themselves in studying new proiects and devises to rayse monies, or in undoing those who did not willingly submit to their impositions: and when they found the City of London to be so generally disposed to more moderate counsells, that unlesse some Propositions were prepared to be presented to his Maiesty, they were in danger of losing all that power and interess which they had amongst them; they were resolved to stand upon such termes with their Lord and Soveraigne, that if they could obtaine them, would confirme their power, or if denyed, would yet preserve the beliefe of the poore simple people that they endeavoured peace. So that at last, upon these hopes and considerations, some Propositions are presented to his Maiesty by the Earle of Northumberland, the Earle of Pembroke, and others appoynted by both Houses to attend that service; in number fewer, in substance very little different from those nineteen which they had sent unto his Maiesty when he was at York. And what were they presented for? to be considered of between the parties in such a manner, and with such freedome of debate, as might best tend to the establishment of a generall peace throughout the Kingdome, according to his Maiesties desire and purpose formerly expressed? Not so, they were too stout to descend so low, but that his Maiesty *would graciously accept and grant those their desires and propositions; which granted and performed, they would then endeavour that his Majesty, and all his people might enjoy the blessings of peace, truth, & justice* (a). Here was no motion for a treaty, nothing at all which looked that way, but onely a commending to him of their owne desires which could not be denyed but with the certaine losse of truth, peace, and iustice; and those too ushered in with a preamble, so full of heavy charges, bitter invectives and reproaches against his Maiesty, that if his Maiesty had not given up all the faculties of his soule to an earnest endeavour of peace & reconciliation with his People (b), it might have utterly discouraged him from proceeding further. And although many of the Propositions presented to him, were very derogatory from, and destructive to His just Power and Prerogative, and no way beneficiall to His Subiects, or due unto them by the Lawes already established, yet so desirous was *His MAIESTIE* to remove all the miseries which this Kingdom suffered, by an happy Peace, that hee was pleased a speedy time and place should bee agreed upon for the meeting of such Persons as His *MAIESTIE* and both *Houses* shall appoynt; as well for the discussing of the Propositions recommended to him, as to debate upon some others, which His Maiesty thought fit, on his part, to

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to propoſe to them (c). Which earneſt and affectionate deſire of his Sacred Majeſty, as it begate the following Treaty, which could not be for ſhame refuſed when ſo fairely offered; ſo hath it been as cheereſully entertained, and followed by them with as reall and religious purpoſes as it was propoſed, *A ſpeedy and bleſſed peace had been accompliſhed* (d) before this time. And it is worth your obſervation, that howſoever the Propoſitions ſent unto his Majeſty, were ſuch as are before deſcribed, to have no being or foundation in the laws eſtabliſhed; and more than ſo, to be derogatory and deſtructive of the Regall power; yet of a goodneſſe ſo ſingular was his Sacred Majeſty, as to put his own known legall and undoubted rights into the ſelf ſame ballance with them, to be debated, and diſcuſſed and concluded on with their exhorbitant demands.

c Ibid. p.

d Ibid. p

7 This gracious offer of his Majeſties being made known unto the Houſes within three days after, could not be honored with an anſwer till the laſt of February. In all which time they had advanced no further than to yield to this, *that there ſhould be a Treaty to begin on the* 4 *of* March, *but to continue for no longer time than for* 20 *dayes*: in which Treaty ſo much of his Majeſties Propoſition as concerneth the Magazines, Forts, and Ships, and the Propoſition of both Houſes for the diſbanding of the Armies, ſhould be firſt treated of, and concluded on, before they did proceed to treat upon any of the other Propoſitions (e). Where you may note, firſt to how ſhort a time they reſtrained his Majeſty, allowing but 20 dayes in all from the beginning of the Treaty, for the diſcuſſing and debate of 20 generall propoſitions, (that is to ſay, ſix of his Sacred Majeſties, and 14 of their own) many of which were ſubdivided into many branches and particulars; and ſecondly, that though they had ſeiſed on all his Majeſties revenues, under pretence to ſee it husbanded, and expended for the publick good, yet they had ſo converted it to their own private uſes, that that part of the Propoſition muſt not come in queſtion (though afterwards on further counſell and advice, they gave way unto it.) Well then this being thus reſolved on, after ſome Meſſages to and fro, touching the quality of the Ceſſation, ſo much (but ſtill in vaine) deſired by his ſacred Majeſty; at laſt, though long firſt, not till the 21 of *March*, came their Committee to the Court; and then too with a Commiſſion ſo limited, and circumſcribed by private and particular inſtructions, that they had not power ſo much as to explicate the termes, or agree in the wording of (f) expreſſions, without diſpatching a freſh Poſt, to conſult the Oracle. And here you might take notice alſo, that though his Majeſty deſired that a Ceſſation might be granted during the Treaty, and free Trade over

e The Vote greed on Fe 1643.

f His Majeſt meſſage to Houſes, Apr 1643.

Majesties r to the pro- ons, Feb. 1.

Majesties r to the Ar- couching ssation.

Majesties r to the Ar. of Cessati-

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all the Kingdom during the Cessation (*g*) and that all matters touching the Cessation, might be settled here by their Committee (*h*): yet none of these could be obtained; the two last being absolutely denied, and the first clogged with such conditions, as made it utterly unusefull to his Majesty and his loyall subjects. But being, this busines of the Cessation was only moved by his Majesty in order to the Propositions, as a preparation expedient to advance the Treaty, and was no part of the substance of it; I shall passe it by, observing only by the way, that though his Majesty declared, that he desired the Cessation *more for the ease and liberty of his Subjects, than for his own dignity and greatnesse* (*i*), *and was content that the desired freedom of Commerce should be restrained in matters which concerned himselfe, the Officers and Souldiers of his Army*; yet it would not be. For after no small time spent in disputes about it, betwixt his Majesty and the Committee, and that his Majesty had so fully answered the reasons of the Lords and Commons, which moved them not to agree unto the Articles of Cessation offered by his Majesty (*l*) that they were able to make no reply at all unto it; immediatly on the receipt thereof, they sent down present order unto their *Committee, not to consume any more of the time allowed for the Treaty, in any further debates upon the Cessation* (*m*).

8 Next for the Propositions which were treated on, I would have you know, that when the Committee first came to *Oxford*, they had no power *to enter into any Treaty concerning the other Propositions, before the Articles of the Cessation agreed on by the Lords and Commons were assented to* (*n*). Which seemes to be a pretty riddle, that first the Articles of the Cessation must be yeelded to, before their Propositions were to come in Treaty; yet when they found themselves put to it by his Majesties Answer, the businesse of the Cessation must be laid aside, that so more time might be allowed for the Propositions. But to go on, His Majesty being willing to treat however (even without a Cessation) upon the Propositions made of each side, and in that Order which themselves had agreed upon, with much adoe, and after severall Messages, obtained so much of the two Houses that *their Committee here might be inabled to that effect* (*o*). Which being obtained for the two first Propositions, and no further, although his Majesty could not without a notable disadvantage disband his Army raised with so much difficulty, on the meere gaining of his Revenue, Forts, Ships and Magazines, (which with his comming to the Parliament, was the substance of the two first Propositions) considering how easie it was for them to repossesse themselves of the same again, when they saw occasion: yet he resolved to proceed. And knowing that the sight of those instructi-

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ons which had been given to the Committee would much facilitate the busines, and bring it to some issue with far lesse expence of time, then could be otherwise expected; His Majesty desired to have a Copie of them, or at the least a sight thereof, but could be gratified in neither; answer being made, that *they were enjoyned not to discover or shew their instructions, or to give any Copie of them*; (which they forbore to do till they had given his Majesty the whole substance thereof, in their severall papers (*p*), yet *in the other side when the Committee moved his Majesty to give them leave to repaire unto him for further satisfaction upon any doubts which should arise amongst them, in any of those Papers which they either had, or should receive from his Majesty, before such time as they transmitted them to both Houses of Parliament*; His Majesty most graciously condescended to it at the first desire (*q*). Which shew's in my opinion a remarkable difference betwixt the clearenes of his Majesties purposes, and the reservednes of the others in their dealing with him.

p Collection the Papers

q Ibid. p. 3.

9 And now to take the branches of the Propositions as they lye in order; the first we meet with, doth concerne his Majesties Revenue: Of which, although they had so totally deprived his Majesty (even to the taking away of money out of his Exchequer and the Mint) (*r*) that he had not wherewith to subsist in the condition of a private Gentleman; yet they had confidence enough to tell him, that they had received *a very small proportion of it, which for the most part was employed in the maintenance of his Majesties Children* (*s*).

r Ibid. p. 5.

s Ibid p. 4.

But the next thing worthy of your observation, is, with what readinesse and facility his Majesty was content to rest upon the promise of these his Majesties two Houses of Parliament, *To satisfie him for those summes which remained due* (*t*): As also *for leaving the same unto his Majesty for the time to come, in the same way wherein it was before the beginning of these troubles* (*u*): Considering the power they claime of making and revoking Ordinances, as they see occasion, and with what specious shadows of necessity they may impose some new restraints and interruptions on the same, as often as they have a mind to create new Iealousies.

t Ibid. p 4

u Ibid. p. 6

And you may please to know withall, that this refunding of such summs as they had received out of his Majesties Revenue, came not without a clogge upon it; it being to be done but upon condition (for ought the Committee (*a*) had to say unto the contrary) *That his Majesty would restore what had beene taken for his own use, upon any of the Bills assigned to other purposes by Act of Parliament, or out of the provision made for the war in Ireland* (*b*).

a Ibid. p. 6

b Ibid p. 4

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It is true, somewhat he received for his own houshold out of the Customs, for the maintenance of this and Robes, above 12 months since, and they know a great part of this came out of his own Customes of inheritance: And that to his fathers houshold (even by act of Parliament) much thereof was assigned, so with the knowledge of this Parliament continued to him. But herein (as in other things) they shewed a notable piece of cunning to abuse the people, in making them beleeve that the many summes of money levied on the subject for the necessary service of this Kingdom, or the war in *Ireland*, had been converted by his Majesty to his proper use. Whereas they knew exceeding well, *His Majesty had received very little, or indeed nothing in that way* (c): (the monies levied on those Acts being paid, and to be paid, to Treasurers of their own appointing;) and could not but as well remember, that they had seized upon 100000 l. at once, of those publick monies, which had been paid by the *Adventurers* for the war of *Ireland*, and by the Act of Parliament, *was not to be employed in any other purpose whatsoever, then the reducing of those Rebels, to be expended in a most unnaturall war against his Majesty* (d).

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And yet such was his sacred Majesties desire, to give all possible contentment to his said two Houses, *That he declared his willingnesse to restore all monies which had been taken by his Majesty, or by authority from Him, on any Bils assigned unto other purposes* (e): without requiring or expecting the like from them. So that the first point (that of the Revenue) was soon agreed betwixt his Majesty and the Committee; His Majesty being willing to connive at some things, and consent to any things (within the verge of their demands) which might conduce to bring it to speedy issue.

ection of al pers, p.5.

10 Touching the Magazines, Forts, and Ships, there are some things to be observed which do relate to all in common; and some which are to be considered with reference to each branch in severall. Offer was made by the Committee, that *all the Armes and Ammunition which had been taken out of his Majesties Magazines, and was remaining in the hands of both Houses of Parliament, should be delivered into his Majesties Stores; that which was wanting of the same, to be supplied in kind in convenient time* (f). To this his Majesty vouchsafed a gracious and free consent, desired not the performance of it, untill the *Treaty was concluded and agreed upon* (g); Declared the place of Store to which *his Armes and Ammunition should be delivered*, to be no other then the usuall place, even *the Tower of London* (h); *And promised to restore all Armes and Ammunition which had been taken for his Majesties use (his own at that time being taken from him) from*

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any of the Counties, Towns, or Cities in this his Realme, expecting only (but not conditioning with them, as they did with him) that they ſhould do the like for all *the Armes and Ammunition which had been taken for the uſe of their Armies, under the command of the Earle of Eſſex* (*i*). Hitherto all things were agreed on, and with much facility. The difference was, that they deſired the *publick Magazines might be committed to ſuch perſons of his Majeſties naming, as the two Houſes ſhould confide in* (*k*): which is no more nor leſſe than to keep them ſtill in their own power, at their own diſpoſing; or at the beſt to ſhift it out of one hand into another. For we know well enough, that their confiding men are ſuch as are reſolved on all occaſions, to ſerve their turnes againſt his Majeſty, or elſe to be diſcharged without further confidence. And this they did ſo pertinaciouſly adhere unto, that though his Majeſty Declared that the ſaid Magazines ſhould be committed to, and continued in the cuſtody of the ſworn Officers (ſome of the which had been by them commended to his Sacred Majeſty) unto whoſe place it belonged (*l*), and who had Patents of thoſe places (*m*), which his Majeſty in Law and Iuſtice could not take away; and *that if any of thoſe Officers had committed, or ſhould commit any miſdemeanour, to make them unworthy of that truſt, his Majeſty would by no meanes defend them from the juſtice of Law* (*n*): yet that would not ſatisfie. They muſt have all committed to ſuch hands as they might confide in; and were ſo far from guiding their affections by Law and Iuſtice, and ſo much diſcontented with his Majeſties Anſwer, that they would neither offer any exceptions againſt the perſons now in Office, nor render any reaſons of their diſlike, although his Majeſty ſeemed twice to require it of them (*o*).

i Ibid. p. 9.

k Ibid. p. 8.

l Ibid. p. 9.

m Ibid. p. 10

n Ibid. p. 9.

o Ibid. p. 11, 1

11 So alſo for the other branch touching the Forts, Port-Towns and Garriſons, it was agreed on eaſily on both ſides, that all the Fortifications which had been raiſed ſince the beginning of theſe troubles ſhould be ſleighted, and all the Garriſons which had been newly placed in any of his Majeſties Towns, Forts and Caſtles, ſhould be removed, and the ſaid Caſtles, Townes and Forts reduced unto ſuch condition, as they were in *An.* 1636. But in this point the difference was wider than in that before: For here the Houſes did not only require of his Sacred Majeſty to put the Caſtles, Forts, and Townes, into ſuch hands as they might

confide in; and that the keeping of the Cinque-ports, and all the members of the ſame, ſhould be diſpoſed of alſo in the ſame manner: but *that the Warden of the Cinque ports, and all Governours and Commanders of Townes, Caſtles, and Forts ſhould ſo keepe the ſame, as not to admit into any of them any forreigne Forces, or any other Forces raiſed without his Majeſties authority, and conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament, but to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſſe all Forces whatſoever, raiſed without ſuch authority and conſent, and to ſeize all Armes and Ammunition which are provided for ſuch*
bid. p.13,14. *Forces* (*p*). And they have yet a further demand, wherein they crave, *That none of the new Garriſons ſhall be renewed, nor their Fortifications repaired, without conſent of his Majeſty, and both Houſes of Parliament* (*q*).

id.page 14. 12 Such being their demands, we muſt next ſee the reaſonableneſſe and juſtice of his Majeſties Anſwers, that all good people may perceive how little reaſon the two Houſes had to remain unſatisfied, had they intended nothing but the good of the Subjects and the preſervation of the Laws, to which they ſeem in all their actions & proceedings to be ſo zealouſly affected. Only I ſhal deſire you to take notice, firſt, with what a royall clearenes his Majeſty proceeded in all this buſineſſe, in that (conſidering the great and manifold extremities he had been brought unto by this Rebellion) he was ſo readily content to remove all Garriſons, to
d. p.15, 16. ſleight all Works and Fortifications raiſed for his defence (*r*), and totally to caſt himſelfe into the armes of his Subjects, many of which have ſhewn themſelvs ſo eaſie to be wrought upon by treaſonable and ſeditious Counſells.

This ſaid, you may obſerve his Majeſties Anſwer to the point of confidence to be like that before in the other branch, *viz.* That he would put his Townes, Forts, and Caſtles, both now and for the time to come, *into the hands of ſuch perſons againſt whom no juſt exception can be made, and would remove them at what time ſoe-*
l p.15 *ver any juſt cauſe or reaſon ſhould be given for it* (*ſ*). And for the Cinque-ports and the members of it, *That they were already in the cuſtody of a noble perſon, who had ſo legall an intereſt therein, that his Majeſty in juſtice could not put him out from it, till ſome ſufficient cauſe be made to appeare unto him*; which whenſ ever it appeared, *His Majeſty was willing they ſhould proceed againſt him according to*
l p.15. *the rules of Juſtice* (*t*).

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Now as his Majeſty builds this part of his Anſwer upon the common principles of Iuſtice, which would have no man puniſhed but for ſome offence, nor diſpoſſeſſed of his eſtate but for ſome delinquency; and the firſt part thereof, *the nominating of Commanders to his Towns and Forts on that legall right which was inherent in his Majeſty, and had been formerly enjoyed by all his Royall Progenitors* (*u*): So doth he build his Anſwer to their other demands, on the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom. For he declareth his conſent, *That the Governours and Commanders of his Townes, Forts and Caſtles, ſhould not admit into any of them any forreigne Forces, or other Forces, which were either raiſed within the Realme, or brought into it contrary to the Laws eſtabliſhed, but ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavour to ſupreſſe all ſuch* Forces, *and ſeize all Armes and Ammunition, which by the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom they ought to ſeize* (*a*). And to the laſt demand, *That no new Garriſon ſhall bee renewed, nor their Fortifications repaired, otherwiſe than by the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom they ought to be* (*b*).

u Ibid. p. 17

a Ibid. p. 15

b Ibid. p. 16

13 Before I paſſe to any obſervations upon this Anſwer, or rather on the Exceptions of the two Houſes of Parliament againſt the ſame, I ſhall proceed on the other branch, that, about the Ships the Anſwer and Exceptions being much the ſame, It was propounded or reſolved rather by the Houſes, *That the Ships ſhould be delivered into the hands of ſuch a noble perſon, as his Majeſty ſhould nominate to be Lord high Admirall of England, and the two Houſes of Parliament conſide in, who was to have his Office by Letters Patent,* Quam diu ſe bene geſſerit; *and to have power to nominate and appoint all inferiour Officers, which Ships he ſhall employ for the defence of the Kingdome, againſt all forreigne Forces whatſoever, and for the ſafe guard of Merchants, the ſecuring of Trade, the guarding of* Ireland, *and the intercepting of Supplies to be carried to the Rebels*; and ſhall uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſſe all Forces which ſhall be raiſed by any perſon without your Majeſties authority, and conſent of the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and ſhall ſeize all Armes and Ammunition provided for ſupply of any ſuch forces (*c*).

c Ibid. p 22

Where note, as in the branch before, how cunningly they change the termes of the Propoſition. His Majeſtie expounded, *that his Revenue, Magazines, Towns & Ships, which have been taken or kept from him by force, might be be forthwith reſtored unto Him* (*d*).

d His Majeſt anſwer to the poſitions, Fe

They return Anſwer, that the ſaid *Caſtles, Townes, and Forts ſhall be delivered up into the hands of ſuch perſons of quality and truſt to be nominated by his Majeſty* (e), and the ſaid *Cinqueports, into the hands of ſuch a noble perſon, as his Majeſty ſhould appoint to be Warden of them*; and the ſaid *Ships, into the charge of ſuch a noble perſon as his Majeſty ſhall nominate, to be Lord high Admirall* (f); all of them to be ſuch, and ſo well affected to the Cauſe, *as the two Houſes of Parliament may confide in them* (g). It ſeemes the Right and Property of the ſaid Towns, Forts, Caſtles and Ships, belongeth legally to the two Houſes of Parliament, and that whoever doth receive the charge, or keeping of them, muſt take them from their hands immediatly, as the proper owners; His Majeſty having no more Right or Intereſt in any of them, than a power to nominate the party to be truſted with them, and that neither as they clogge and contrive the matter, whereof more anon. And this His Majeſty obſerved when he made his Anſwer to this part of the demand fore-going, requiring, that his owne Ships be forthwith delivered to him, as by the Law they ought to be delivered unto him, as his proper goods, by him to be diſpoſed of as his own, to ſuch men of quality, as he conceived moſt worthy of ſo great a truſt.

14 In other matters of his Anſwer, you may obſerve how cheerefully His Majeſty doth comply with His two Houſes of Parliament, in all particulars which they thought fitting and convenient to propoſe unto him, touching the place, the power, and duty of a Lord high Admirall. Onely his Majeſty deſired, that, *That which was his owne by Law*, and contrary to the Law, *had beene taken from him, ſhould be fully reſtored unto him without conditioning to impoſe any new Limitations on His Majeſtie, or His Miniſters, which were not formerly required from them by Law; thinking it moſt unreaſonable* (as indeed it was) *to bee preſſed to diminiſh His owne Rights himſelfe, becauſe others had violated and uſurped them* (h). And when this Declaration of His Majeſty was quarrelled by the Houſes, *as a cenſure upon their proceedings* (i); His Majeſty required, that *ſince they did eſteeme thoſe words of his* [that they had taken his Ships from him contrary to Law] *to be a cenſure on their actions, they would either produce that Law by which they tooke them, or free themſelves from ſo juſt and unconfutable a cenſure, by a ſpeedy and unlimitted reſtoration,* (k)

Nei-

(e) Declaration of Lords and Commons, p. 13
(f) Ibid. p. 22.
(g) Ibid. p. 13, 22
(h) Ibid. p. 24, 25.
(i) Ibid. p. 25.
(k) Ibid. p. 26.

Neither of which being done, or intended by them, His Majeſty had reaſon to adhere unto the Anſwer made unto that particular, which was, that for the preſent hee would governe the Admiralty by Commiſſion, as in all times had beene accuſtomed; that when he pleaſed to nominate a Lord high Admirall, it ſhould be ſuch a noble perſon, againſt whom no juſt exception ſhould be made; or if there were; his his Majeſty would leave him to his due tryall and examination: and that he ſhould imploy the ſhips to all intents and purpoſes, by them deſired; and uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſuppreſſe all forces which ſhall bee rayſed by any perſon whatſoever, againſt the Law and ſtatute of the kingdome, and to ſeize all Armes and Amunition provided for the ſupply of any ſuch forces (*l*). The difference in which laſt particulars ſtands thus between them, the Houſes craved that the Lord Amirall ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavour to ſuppreſſe all forces, which *ſhould be raiſed without his Majeſties Authority and the conſent of the* Lords and Commons in *Parliament*: His Majeſty deſiring that *the Lawes and ſtatutes of the kingdome might be the rule of what is, and what is not to be done* (*m*), referres the exerciſing of the Admiralls power, to *the ſuppreſſing of all forces which ſhall be raiſed by any perſon whatſoever, againſt the Lawes and ſtatutes of the Kingdome.*

l Ibid. p. 3

m Ibid p. 1

15. And now I would faine know what is to be diſliked in his Majeſties Anſwers, to thoſe two laſt branches; either His Maieſties inſiſting on his legall and undoubted Rights, in nominating men of rank and quality, to theſe publike truſts; or his deſire of making Lawes and Statutes of this Realme, the rule and meaſure, by which inferiour Officers muſt diſcharge their duties. I hope they will not ſay the firſt, and the laſt they dare not: and other poynts than theſe, I ſee none in difference, or if there be, they are reducible to theſe, and of leſſer moment. I hope they will not ſay the firſt, for they are bound by their oathes of Allegiance, Obedience, and Supremacy, and have bound themſelves by their Proteſtation (a Covenant of their owne deviſing) ſolemnly taken in the preſence of Almighty God, that to the uttermoſt of their powers, and with the hazzard of their lives and fortunes, they will defend his Majeſties perſon, Honour, and eſtate. And ſure whatever zeale and duty they may pretend unto his Perſon, they ſhew but ſmall regard unto his Honour,

and not much more unto his Eſtate, in ſeeking by force to deveſt His Maieſty of thoſe legall Rights which are inherent in His Perſon, and have unqueſtionably been enjoyed by all his Royall Predeceſſors in the times before. Either they break their Oathes and Proteſtation, and ſo are perjured by it in the ſight of God, in ſeeking to extort from his ſacred Majeſty thoſe native Rights, and legall Priviledges, which are inveſted in his perſon: or if they meane to keep the Proteſtation, they muſt needes leave His Majeſty in as good condition, as they found him in. So that His Majeſty doth inſiſt on nothing in this particular of his Anſwer, but his Native Rights, which they have bound themſelves by their Proteſtation to preſerve and keep. And it belonged to them in all right and Reaſon, either to ſhew that he had no ſuch right by Law, as he did pretend to, or that themſelves had by ſome fundamentall Law, *a right ſuperiour unto that which was then in queſtion* (*n*), (neither of which, they can, or pretend to doe, or else to have been ſatisfied, and contented with His Majeſties Anſwer, againſt that, which they had no other reaſon to produce, but their feares and jealouſies (*o*), which being without cauſe, or without care alſo. Now as they will not ſay the firſt, ſo I dare preſume they dare not ſay the laſt, and bee offended with His Maieſties Anſwer, for no other reaſon, than that he doth referre the duties of his principall Officers, and ſuch as are in authority under him, to be ſquared and regulated according to the Lawes and Statutes of the kingdom. Should they wave that, and plainly manifeſt their intents, & purpoſes of bringing in an Arbitrary government, and make the votes of the two Houſes, the rule and meaſure by which the Lord high Admirall of England, the Warden of the Cinque Ports, the Governours & Commanders of his Majeſties Caſtles, Forts, and Townes, muſt diſcharge their Offices: how eaſie were it for them to ſubvert all Law, and bring this wretched people unto ſuch a thraldome, as greater was not ſuffered by the poore *Athenians*, under all their *Tyrants*? this I preſume they dare not ſay, though they may intend it, (as all their projects and proceedings ſeem to look that way) for fear the people ſhould fall off, and deſert them utterly, and ſo deprive them of thoſe hopes of Soveraignty, which they have nouriſhed in themſelves.

(n) Ibid; p; 10

(o) Ibid; P. 10

16. There is another part of Soveraignty to be looked on yet, which

which is the binding of the Subject by a ſolemne Oath: and this for the eſtabliſhment of their power and party, they labour to impoſe on the Lord Admirall of England, the Warden of the Cinque-Ports, all Commanders of ſhips, all governors of Towns, Forts, and Caſtles (*u*). The Ordinary Oathes which all theſe Officers *were already by the Lawes obliged to take, were not held ſufficient* to bind them faſt enough unto the ſide; and therefore they muſt have a new one of their owne deviſing: and all the Officers muſt be ſworne, not onely *to preſerve the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, and the peace of the kingdome againſt forraigne forces, but alſo againſt all other forces raiſed without the conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament*, though by *his Majeſties authority* (*a*) His Majeſties authority it ſeems is of little value, when all the officers and Commanders of his Realm muſt be ſworn againſt it: the officers & Commanders in as ill condition, when by their places they are bound either to rebell againſt his Majeſty, if hee make uſe of his authority, or to be perjured if they doe not. And ſo intent they were upon this deſigne, that when His Maieſty declared, that if it were made to appeare unto him that any thing was neceſſary to be added to the former Oathes, he would moſt readily conſent unto it in a full and peaceable convention of Parl. (*b*) they took it for a great affront, as if his Maieſty had taxed them of ſome deficiencies, or reckoned them uncapable of making a proviſional Law (*c*) for the preſent turn. Nor were they better ſatisfied with his Maieſties Reply, than they had been with his Anſwer, though he declared his willingneſſe to apply any proper remedy unto the extraordinary cauſes of their feares and jalouſies, if he could ſee there were ſuch cauſes; and further promiſed, that when both Houſes ſhould prepare and preſent ſuch an Oath, as they ſhould make appeare unto his Majeſty, to be neceſſary to the ends propoſed, His Maieſty would readily conſent unto it (*d*). His Maieſty muſt either captivate his underſtanding to their votes & Ordinances, and follow their appoyntments with a blind *obedience*, or yield to all things at firſt ſight which are offered to him: or elſe his Anſwers are interpreted to be denyals (*e*); and the poor people ſhall be told in the next new Pamphlets, or the next eloquent oration at the *Common Councel*, how little hopes there is of peace in the way of *Treaty*; and therefore that his Maieſty muſt be forced by Arms, and not gained by Parley.

u Collection the papers,

a ibid p. 27

b ib. p. 27

c ib. p. 28

d Page 28, 29.

e ib p. 18, 25

17. You.

17. You may preceive by this discourse, that His Maiesty demanded nothing in his first Proposition, but what was legall, his owne, and denyed nothing to his two houses of Parliam. but a devesting of himself of that Regall power, by which he is inabled to protect his Subjects. So that the breach was theirs, not his, in that they craved such things, (and would not otherwise be satisfied) as were neither fit for them to aske, if they desired to continue in the rank of subjects; nor possible for him to grant, if he resolved to live a Soveraigne. Let us next see what, and how much was done in the first Propositions of the Lords and Commons for the disbanding of the Armies, and his Majesties returne unto his Parliament. In which you may observe, that though there are two severall branches, neither of them depending on the other; yet the Committee had no power to treat upon the latter branch (*f*) (that of his Majesties comming to
(*f*) Ibid. p. 30. the Parliament) but were confined by their instructions to the former onely. So that his Maiesty in all manner of Iustice might have delayed, or denyed to begin to treat upon one part, untill they had been enabled to treat on the other (*g*). For what
(*g*) Ibid. p. 38. could his most sacred Maiesty have effected in the way to peace, by the disbanding of Armies, in case his comming to the Parliament had still continued unsecure, and that promiscuous rabble of unruely people, which then awed the *Houses*, and formerly had compelled *His Majesty*, together with the greatest, and most moderate part of the *Lords and Commons*, to withdraw themselves to places of more assured safety, had beene as able to affront and terrifie them, as before they were? Assuredly by such improvident a disbanding, his Maiesty had beene more exposed to contempt and scorne, reduced himselfe to the condition hee was in at Windsor, *Jan.* 1641. and the distractions of the kingdome had been more uncurable, than they are at present, yet his desire of peace, and consequently his proceeding in the Treaty as in order to it, was so prevalent with him (*h*); that
(*h*) Ibid. p. 38. Hee resolved to overcome all Difficulties whatsoever, which were layd before Him of set purpose, eyther to make Him stumble in the way, or Discourage Him from going forwards.

18. Being thus resolved, his Maiesty returned this Answer to the first part of their Proposition, that he was ready and as willing

ling that all Armies ſhould be disbanded, as any perſon whatſoever (i); and that he would ſo doe for his part, as ſoon as the preſent Treaty came to ſuch a concluſion, as there might be a clear evidence to himſelf and his good Subjects of a future peace, and no ground left for the continuance or growth of theſe bloudy diſſentions, for the time to come (k). And though this anſwer could not but be ſatisfactory to indifferent men, yet being required by the Committee to ſignifie what his *Majeſty* intended to be a cleere evidence to himſelfe and his ſubjects of a future peace (l), he explained it thus, that he intended only ſuch a concluſion of that preſent Treaty on His Maieſties firſt Propoſition, and the Propoſition of both Houſes, that the Law of the Land might have a full, free, and uninterrupted courſe, for the defence & preſervation of the rights both of his Majeſty, His good ſubiects, and the two houſes of Parliament (m), Which anſwer being ſo far from ſatisfying, that it was conceived by both Houſes to be in effect a denyall (n), and his moſt ſacred Maieſty perceiving with how much loſſe of time he treated at ſo great a diſtance; he thought it beſt, and did accordingly vouchſafe to ſend a gracious Meſſage to them by one of his own ſervants, *Apr.* 12. 1643. The ſubſtance of which Meſſage (for ſo much as concerns this poynt) was this which followeth, *viz.* 'that as ſoon 'as his Majeſty was ſatisfied in his firſt Propoſition, concerning 'his own Revenue, Magazines, Ships, and Forts; in which he deſi- 'red nothing, but that the juſt, legall, and known rights of his 'Maieſty and of the perſons truſted by him be reſtored unto them, 'as ſoone as the Members of both Houſes ſhould be reſtored unto 'the ſame capacity of *ſitting and voting* in Parliament, as they had 'upon the firſt of *Jan.* 1641. (excluſively of ſuch whoſe votes had 'bin taken away by bill or by new elections on new writs) and 'that as ſoon as his Maieſty, and both Houſes may be ſecured from 'ſuch tumultuous aſſemblies, as to the high diſhonour of the *Parl.* 'had awed the *members of the ſame* (which he conceived could not 'otherwiſe be done, but by adiourning the Parl to ſome place 20. 'miles from *Lond.* ſuch as the houſes ſhould agree on) his Maieſty 'moſt cheerfully & readily would conſent to the disbanding of 'armies, and would return ſpeedily to his two Houſes of *Parl.* ac- 'cording to the time and place which they ſhould agree on (o). To which his Majeſties moſt gracious Meſſage, *the Houſes* were not pleaſed to ſend any other anſwer, than the calling back of their Committee, the next day after, and the diſſolving of the Treaty, which ended *Apr.* 15. being the day by them determined.

i Ibid; p. 2

k Ibid. p. 31.

l Ib. p. 32

m Ibid. p. 39;

n Ibid. p. 39;

29. I hope you see by this time who must beare the the blame of all the miseries, which are expected to ensue in this wretched kingdome: And yet I have some other evidences to evince it further. Two only means were left (as wise men conceived) to put an end unto our troubles; a longer continuance of the treaty, and his Majesties return to his two Houses of Parliament; both which his Maiesty most earnestly desired, but could speed in neither. First for the Treaty, his Maiesty proposed it at the first, without any limitation of the time at all; desiring to avoyd both that, and all other limitations whatsoever, as being like to give great interruptions to the businesse (*p*). But on the contrary, the houses first restrained the whole treaty unto 20. dayes, as before was shewn; and afterwards so minced the matter, being resolved to treat upon no more than the two first Propositions of either part, and that of the Cessation, that they would hardly allow more time than what would serve for the transcribing of the papers. It seemes the time appoynted for the Treaty, was at the first restrained, as to the poynt of the Cessation, unto *two dayes* onely (*q*) (a time too strictly limited for so great a businesse) the whole to be determined on the 4. of *April* (*r*). After a further time was given to treat upon the two first Propositions, viz. the first Proposition of His Maiesty, and the first of both Houses, till the friday following (*s*), being the seventh of the same moneth. Vpon the eighth of *April* wee find seven dayes more, and that affirmed to be the full remainder of the time for the whole Treaty (*t*). And when His Maiesty desired, that the Treaty might proceed without further interruption or limitation of dayes (*u*); Answer was made April 10. *that the two Houses of Parliament did not think fit to inlarge the time of the Treaty beyond the twenty dayes formerly limited, to be reckoned from the 25. of March then past, which could admit of no alteration or inlargement without manifold prejudice and danger to the whole kingdome* (*a*) to the great sorrow of his Maiesty, as he expressed himself to their Committee the day before they went away being *Apr.* 14. (*b*) Nay, in such haste the Houses were to dissolve the Treaty, that without considering of his answers to their demands, and Proposition, or shewing any reason of their dislike, or giving his Maiesty more time to bethink himself of what was fitting to be done in such weighty businesses, they called back their *Committee* by a speciall *order*; that part whereof which came from

id. p. 36. 37.

lis Majesties wer to the sons, Apr. 4.

ollection of papers, p. 30 id. p. 30.

Ibid. p. 35.

bid. 33.

bid. p. 11.

bid. p. 12.

from the Houſe of Commons being commanded to haſten their returne in moſt ſtrict and unuſuall tearms (c).

c Ib d. p. 48.

20. Next for his Majeſties return unto his Parliament, you cannot chuſe but know, that when his Majeſty was forced to withdraw himſelfe, and bent his journey towards the North, with what a vehement importunity he was Petitioned (d) to return: and that when their Petitions could not bring him back to ſo unſafe a place, with what ſtrange votes they declared that withdrawing of his Majeſty from his two houſes of Parliament, for a breach of Priviledge, (e); a cauſe of great danger and diſtracti on (f), and of great hazzard to the kingdome (g); and that it would not onely be an Obſtruction, but might bee a Deſtruction to the affaires of *Ireland* (h). You cannot chuſe but call to mind alſo the Artifices which they uſed to make the people of thoſe ſeverall Counties, through which he was to paſſe as hee went towards York, to clamour after him with Petitions, for his return towards his Parliament: and how their party in and about that Countrey, in which his Majeſty made choyce to fix his reſidence, did labour and ſollicit him to that purpoſe alſo. The copies of the ſaid Petitions, with his Majeſties gracions Anſwers to them, being put in print, and obvious to the eyes of every Reader. I am ſure you have ſeen, being ſo curious an Obſerver of thoſe publike paſſages: Thus when his Maieſty deſired a Treaty by his gracious Meſſage ſent from Nottingham, they anſwered him with an advice of *leaving his forces*, & coming again unto his Parliament (i); as the onely expedient to make his Majeſty happy and his Kingdome ſafe: and when the Aldermen, and other Citizens of *Lond.* were ſent to *Oxford* to his Majeſty in behalfe of that City, the ſelf ſame errand (his Majeſties return to His Parliament) is made the ſubſtance of the buſineſſe. A man would think a poynt ſo eagerly pretended, and made in the addreſſe of both the Houſes to his Maieſty, *Feb.* 1. 164$\frac{2}{3}$. to be of equall conſideration to the peace of the kingdom, with that of the disbanding of both Armies; ſhould not be ſo coldly followed when it came to the poynt, and was moſt like to be obtained, that if they would but have found means to have ſecured his Majeſties orderly & ſafe going thither, his Maieſty was ready to make his journey ſpeedy; deſiring nothing more than to be with His two Houſes. His Majeſties moſt gracious Meſſage of the 12. of *Apr.* for his return to his two hou-

d Petition of Lords and Commons, March 164$\frac{2}{3}$; June &c.

e Declaration March 9; 164

f Petion at T balds March 1641

g Queſtion ſolved, March 1641

h The Votes both houſes, March 16; 164

i Anſwer by h Majeſties laſt meſſage; and that of Sep. 1 1642.

k Petion of th Maſor and Aldermen, Ian. 3 1642.

ſes of Parliament, and the Disbanding of the Armies, you have ſeene before; together with their entertainment of it, and their Anſwer to it.

All this while according to my method and promiſe, I have, I hope, by laying down the way of their addreſſes, the language even of their Propoſitions, and his Majeſties Anſwers, ſatisfied, & if need were convinc'd you, or any moderate or reaſonable man, that the indiſpoſition to the Peace, the occaſion why it hath not been all this while procured, hath been the ſubtilty of thoſe who are ſo prevalent in both Houſes, as firſt to caſt this Kingdom into War to raiſe their Platonick Common-wealth, and make themſelves the ſupream Governors therein. And now when they find the foundations of this well-tempered Monarchy cannot by force be battered downe, by cunning it muſt be undermined; for without any invective or aſperity, give me leave (to my former Quotations) to ſay but two or three words of my owne, and I have done.

The two Houſes in the 19 Propoſitions ſurely demanded of the King in ſo plaine language his Soveraingty, nay the vertue and power of his Office, as all the world ſaw, they left him but the name King. This was written in ſo great Letters, that the meaneſt man that had a family to governe, could conclude, I would not be uſed thus: Therefore this was too groſſe to inſiſt on. But the Character muſt be made leſſe, it muſt now upon the Treaty of Peace (which they know, all people wiſh and underſtand the beloved name of, though not the fit way to procure it, eſpecially ſuch a one as may be firme and laſting) be ſo ordered, that ſome of the principal heads therein (ſuch as like corner ſtones, being pulled out, pull down the preſent power in the Kinghood) ſhould be inſiſted on, but apparelled with the language of Peace; therefore towards Peace in this Treaty theſe things are inſiſted on.

Firſt, the Ships, Towns, Forts, Magazines &c. muſt be only in ſuch perſons hands as his Majeſty nominating, they approve.

What is this but to keep all ſtill in their own hands? for ſurely if you were to name a man for any place, and I approve him, I could weary and neceſſitate you to name ſuch a one that dependeth on me, not you.

Then in theſe Ships, Townes and Forts, no Forces to be admitted

mitted without his M. authority, and conſent of the two Houſes.

What is this but to gain the power of the *Militia* of this Kingdom out of the King into the two Houſes? for both which you cannot but know (& his Majeſty often cals upon them for it) they have not the leaſt pretence of Law. If this be ſaid, that it is de red but for three years; that is ſufficient argument, to ſhew it is a new thing they pretended to. 'Pray, who thinks that they, who can do all this without any right or preſident, after ſuch a title to it, will not find Iealouſies enough to continue their poſſeſſion for ever? for I thinke ſome intend to make this Parl. perpetuall; yet ſurely the Subject generally can never be ſo ſotted to wiſh it ſo; they gave themſelves not up to this race of men, for a perpetuall governement, nor thoſe them for their lives, or with a power to ſettle themſelves for their lives; Nor did they think ſo themſelves when they askt a Parl. every three years, they ſhould have pretended to one always. But as the beſt reaſon to anſwer this; Why ſhould the King (to whom all making War and Peace belongs; & if others had not invaded this right, we had been ſtill in peace) diveſt himſelfe of this power, ſince this power in this Kingdome was never in any perſon ſingle, or repreſentative body of all the Subjects, ſaving himſelf and predeceſſors? What will this effect, but the continuance of the miſery we now groan under? for if the Houſes can now without the Kings authority make this unnaturall War betwixt Subject and Subject, and put theſe heavy loads on all fellow Subjects that will not comply, as that their perſons may be impriſoned, nay ſlain; their goods plundered, their eſtates ſequeſtred, nay, given away; (if more could be) what might we not expect when they had a pretence of intereſt and power in diſpoſing the Armes of this Kingdom? And do they not uſe us as the King? ſay, they fight for him, when they ſhoot to ſlay him; ſay, it is for the good of the Kingdom, when authority is given to plunder all mens eſtates they will call malignant? and when neither countrey nor perſon that would be a neutrall, (which I know not how they can anſwer in Law to the King) can be admitted by them by Law, to ſhew why he is not bound to contribute to their Aſſeſſements.

I promiſed you, I would not ſay much of my own; and you ſee that few Articles are treated, therefore I will not exceed them: this onely I'le tell you, that if theſe two Articles were

granted as desired, I know not why they might not; nay, I feare they would presently force the King to the other 17. So little they had left in him to defend himself: for how could I that by Law am now bound to attend him in his warres, stay with him when a new Law sayd he could leavy no force, but with such a consent? Consider therefore his Answer to the 19. Propositions: his answers to these particulars in this Treaty; and see whether he make not the rule of all his Actions, Law, and Right; their feares and jealousies? by the one you may measure any thing, (indeed the Law is but the rule of our publike actions) by the other no man can measure any thing; for to measure feares and jealousies, is as hard a task, as to take measure of the Moon for a Garment; which is ever waxing or declining, never in a certaine condition.

I conclude therefore with this advice, Remember the obedience to Princes: God requires the strict Allegiance our Lawes enjoyne: The Oathes we have taken, or by nature are bound to observe to him. Feare then God, and honour the King, and have not to doe with those that love change; lest, as you may contribute to continue our miseries for a time, you make your owne everlasting.

READER,

FOr prevention of imperfect Copies, lately set forth, these three Letters are re-imprinted together with Additions:

At OXFORD,
By *Leonard Lichfield*, *May*, 26. 1643.

FINIS.